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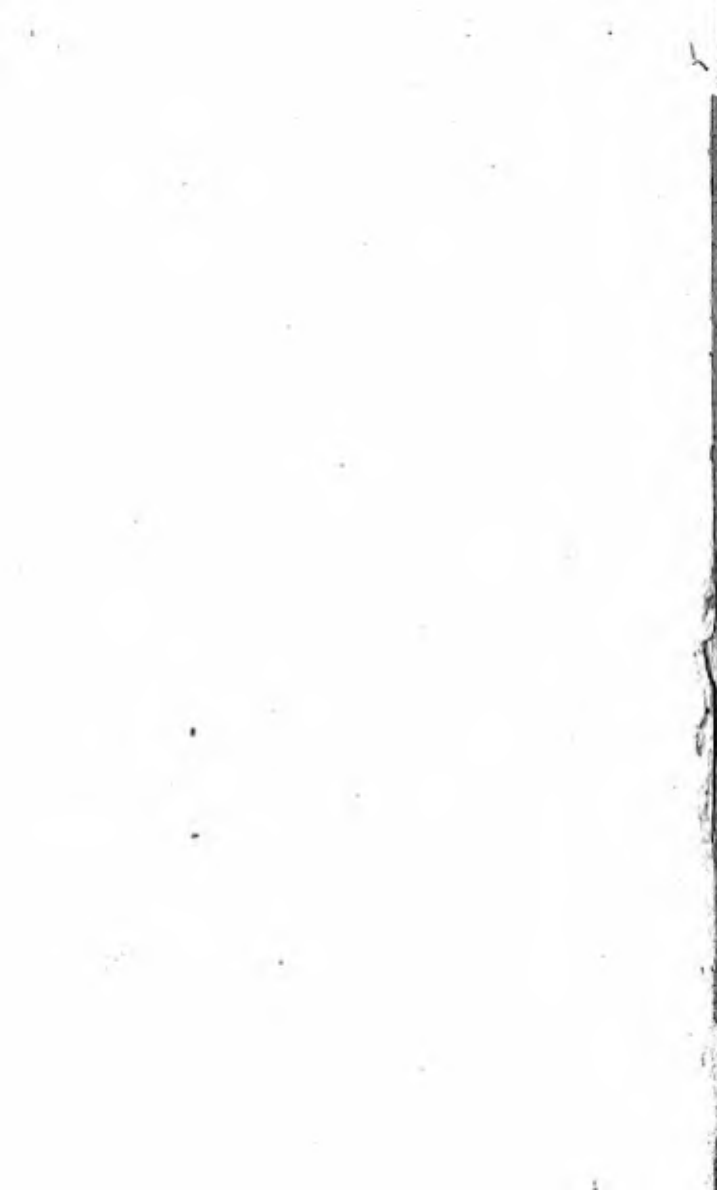
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# MAN in INDIA.

A Quarterly Record of Anthropological  
Science with special Reference  
to India.

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*Edited by*

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

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# MAN IN INDIA.

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## I. THE KHASI AND THE RACIAL HISTORY OF ASSAM.

BY PROF. ROLAND B. DIXON, PH. D.,  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

The racial position and relationships of the Khasi present, in view of their linguistic isolation as the westernmost outlier of the Mon-Khmer family, many features of special interest. The only published data of which I am aware relating to the physical characters of the Khasi are the measurements taken some years ago by Colonel Waddell. During a visit to Assam a few years ago I was fortunate enough to secure measurements of a series of twenty-five Khasis at the Shillong jail, and it is this additional material which I wish to present, together with an analysis of the two series according to a method which I believe to be of value. On the basis of this analysis then, I wish to discuss the relationship of the Khasi to the other peoples of Assam, and to outline briefly what appears to me to be the racial history of that region.

The individual measurements secured by me are given in the table on page 13. If instead of averaging the several measurements and indices as is commonly the practice, we analyse them into a number of groups based upon the combinations of

the cephalic and nasal indices, we obtain the following result :—

Mesocephalic-Mesorrhine (MM)	12=48%
Dolichocephalic-Mesorrhine (DM)	4=16%
Brachycephalic-Mesorrhine (BM)	3=12%
Mesocephalic-Leptorrhine (ML)	2=8%
Mesocephalic-Platyrrhine (MP)	2=8%
Brachycephalic-Leptorrhine (BL)	1=4%
Brachycephalic-Platyrrhine (BP)	1=4%

That is to say, of a total of twenty-five individuals, almost half are Mesocephalic and at the same time Mesorrhine, about one sixth (16%) are Dolichocephalic and at the same time Mesorrhine, *etc. etc.* If we now assume that a mesocephalic group is, in the ultimate analysis, the result of a blending of brachycephalic and dolichocephalic elements, and that similarly a mesorrhine group owes its origin to the mixture of platyrrhine and leptorrhine elements, we may complete the analysis of the above table as follows ;—

$$M M = 48\% = D P + B L$$

$$D M = 16\% = D P + D L$$

$$B M = 12\% = B P + B L$$

$$M L = 8\% = D L + B L$$

$$M P = 8\% = D P + B P$$

$$B L = 4\% = B L$$

$$B P = 4\% = B P$$

Thus the 48% of M M may be regarded as derived from the mixture of equal parts of D P and B L; the 16% of D M from a similar blending of D P and D L, *etc. etc.* If these final percentages of the constituent factors be added together, we get as a final result,—

$$B L = 38 \%$$

$$D P = 36 \%$$

$$B P = 14 \%$$

$$D L = 12 \%$$

---

$$100$$

On the basis of such an analysis, then, the **Khasi** people are the result of the mixture of two main types, **B L** and **D P**, but also include small factors of the other two possible types, **B P** and **D L**.

Now I hasten to admit that this delightfully concrete and definite result has been attained only as a result of a number of assumptions which will at once be challenged. In the first place, twenty-five cases is far too small a series from which to derive trustworthy conclusions. This I should be the first to admit, and should feel that conclusions derived from my own short series were extremely tentative. From the combined series however, (Waddell's and my own) of something over a hundred individuals, results of fair dependability may be secured.

The real issue, however, lies in the primary assumption that intermediate forms are the result of the blending of extreme forms, e. g., that the mixture of a people characterized by dolichocephaly with one of brachycephalic type would in the end lead to a group characterized in the main by mesocephaly. The whole theory of heredity and Mendelism is here involved, and for those who believe that Mendelian laws are valid in the inheritance of metrical factors, no admission of our assumption is possible. Definite evidence, however,



that such features as head-form, nose-form, *etc.* are inherited on Mendelian lines has not yet been given, and I believe that we are justified in regarding these factors as on the whole characterized by blended inheritance and continuous variation. If this is so, the above method of analysis is legitimate, and while of course not arithmetically exact, is probably approximately so, and at any rate significant.

Returning to the Khasi. If Waddell's data be combined with my own smaller series, we obtain one of 103 individuals, the analysis of which may be expected to give a fair indication in regard to the characteristics of the Khasi people. Following the same method as before, we get the results shown below :—

M M	40 = 38.8% = D P + B L
M P	27 = 26.2 „ = D P + B P
D P	13 = 12.6 „ = D P
B P	8 = 7.7 „ = B P
D M	8 = 7.7 „ = D P + D L
B M	4 = 3.8 „ = B P + B L
M L	2 = 1.9 „ = D L + B L
B L	1 = .9 „ = B L

This resolved into its ultimate constituents gives in round numbers :—

D P	= 50%
B L	= 23 „
B P	= 22 „
D L	= 5 „

On the basis of this analysis thus, the Khasi are derived primarily from a D P type, with secondary factors of nearly equal strength of B L and B P types.

Before proceeding to compare the Khasi with their neighbours, and to identify these several factors or "types", a word must be said in regard to one feature of the analysis given. In both the small series and the combined series, the M M group is proportionally the largest. It is obvious that an M M group may be analyzed as the result of the blending of D P and B L factors or equally of the blending of B P and D L factors; and the final result would vary largely according to which of these pairs was selected. In this case, as in others where alternative combinations are possible, the probable one is indicated by other factors in the table. Thus here three ultimate "types" are present unblended, viz. D P, B P and B L. Of these the first is found in much the largest proportion, while the unblended D L "type" is not found at all. Hence the probability is very strong that the M M group is in this case the result of a blending of D P and B L.

In making a comparison between the Khasi and the neighbouring peoples, we may do so either on the basis of the ultimate "types", or on that of the most frequent groups derived from the primary analysis of the data. This latter method is in some ways the most instructive. So I propose first to consider the available material<sup>1</sup> from this point of view.

- 
1. Waddell L. A., *The Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley*, *Journ. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, LIX, pt. 3, pp. 1—127.  
Risley Sir H., *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1892.  
*Anthropometric Data from Burma*,

The most frequently occurring single group in the Khasi is that of M M. This same group is also the most important one among the Manipuri, the Ao-Naga and the Daffa. For all three of these tribes the number of observations is, however, rather small, so that the indication of similarity must be accepted with some reserve. This same M M blend is of secondary importance in another series of tribes, viz. Mikir, Kachari, Abor-Miri. For these the number of observations is somewhat larger, so that the results are more trustworthy. A still more remote relationship of the Khasi to the Angami-Naga and Synteng is indicated by the fact that the M M blend is in these tribes third in importance.

The factor of secondary importance among the Khasi is the M P blend. This is, however, the primary factor among the Garo, Mikir, Kachari and Abor-Miri as well as the Tipara tribes. It is on the other hand of secondary importance (as in the case of the Khasi) in the Manipuri, and appears as a minor factor in the Ao-Naga and the Chakma and Magh of the Chittagong Hills.

The element which is third in order of importance among the Khasi is the D P "type" itself. Nowhere in Assam does this appear as a dominant factor, but it is secondary among the Garo, Angami-Naga and Synteng, and in the Kachari and Manipuri occupies third place as in the Khasi.

On the basis of this comparison, therefore, the Khasi would appear to be most closely affiliated with the Manipuri and Kachari; somewhat less

closely with the Mikir and Abor-Miri, and more remotely still with the Naga and the linguistically allied Synteng.

Before endeavouring to point out the implications of these results, it will be necessary to go somewhat further afield and consider very briefly the distribution of the three main Khasi factors still further east as well as west. From an analysis of the data given by Risley, it appears that the M M factor which is primary among the Khasi, is also the most important element in the Lepcha and Murni of the Darjeeling District, and among the following castes in Bengal—Brahman, Chandal, Goala, Bagdi, Koibarta, Pod and Sadgop; and is of secondary importance in the Kayasth and Rajbansi. Further west in Bihar it is the primary factor in the Dosadh and Kurmi castes, and of secondary value in the Kahar and Maghya Dom. In Chota Nagpur it is nowhere of first importance, but forms a minority element in the Oraon and in the Bhumij and Kurmi castes. Still further west it appears as a trace, but nothing more.

To the east, on the other hand, among the tribes of Burma and the Burmese frontier, nowhere does this M M blend appear except as a negligible minority. This constituent of the Khasi, therefore, may be reasonably regarded as one developed mainly in Assam and Bengal, only faint traces of it appearing further west along the Ganges Valley.

The second or M P factor in the Khasi shows quite a different distribution. In the Darjeeling-Sikkim area it does not appear nor among any of

the Bengal castes previously mentioned except the Bagdi. It is of the same relative importance, however, as in the Khasi among the Malé and Mal Paharia of Bengal and the Munda, Santal, Bhumij, Kharia and Chamar of Chota Nagpur; and of less but considerable importance in the Lohar and Kurmi. In Bihar and further west it is of small importance, appearing as a minority factor only among the Musahar, Chamar and Domadh castes. If we turn to the east, this M P element is everywhere prominent. It is apparently the dominant factor among the Kachin, and secondary (as in the case of the Khasi) in the Southern Chin, the Shan-ta-loke, the Burmese and the Palauug. It is present, but less strongly, also in the Shan and Karen. This constituent of the Khasi thus is, in the west, primarily connected with the Munda and low-caste groups of probable Munda affiliations; while in the east it has intimate associations with all sections of the population.

Lastly, if we consider the factor of third importance, the D P, we find that in Bengal this holds the position of first importance among the Malé and Mal-Paharia, but does not appear in any other group nor in any of the Darjeeling-Sikkim tribes. In Chota Nagpur it is, however, the dominant factor in every tribe and group except the Kurmi. Further west in Bihar and the United Provinces it plays, if not a dominant, at least a very important part in nearly every caste. To the eastward, this factor as a pure "type" is of importance only among the Shan-ta-loke and Kachin. This constituent thus, like the previous

one, is mainly affiliated with the Munda and low-caste groups of Bengal and the Ganges Valley.

Further clarity is given to the situation by considering the distribution of the ultimate "types" as shown in the final analysis of the Khasi series given on page 4. Carrying this through in similar fashion to that above outlined for the three main factors, we may summarize the results as follows.

The fundamental stratum among the Khasi is the D P amounting roughly to half the total. This is found purest and in largest proportion among the dark-skinned, aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur and parts of Bengal, and the lower castes throughout the Ganges Valley. Of the immediate neighbours of the Khasi,—the Manipuri, Mikir, Kachari and Abor-Miri comprise approximately the same strength of the "type": the linguistically related Synteng, the Kuki, Garo and most of the aboriginal and low caste groups of the Ganges Valley showing a notably larger proportion. The higher-caste groups, the people of Nepal, Sikkim, Darjeeling and Bhutan, together with the Naga, Chin and Kachin and all the Burmese groups disclose it in much smaller proportions. The area of concentration of this "type" is thus in the aboriginal population of northern India.

The two other factors in the make-up of the Khasi are present in almost equal proportions. Slightly predominant is the B L "type". This appears in roughly the same proportions in the neighbouring Naga and Manipuri the Mikir, Kachari, Abor-Miri and Tipara, and about half the Bengal (Bagdi, Koibarta, Mal, Pod, Rajbansi, Sadgop) and

Bihar (Babhan, Dosadh, Kahar, Kurmi, Maghya Dom) castes. It is much more prominent among the Darjeeling, Sikkim and Nepal groups, together with the Brahman, Chandal, Goala and Kayasth castes in Bengal. In Chota Nagpur, Bihar and further west, it fades to a mere trace. Eastward this "type" is of relatively small importance, except among the Kachin, Shan and Upper Burmese; and, even in these cases, is less prominent than in the Khasi themselves.

The third and last "type" entering into the composition of the Khasi is the B P. This is found in somewhat similar proportions in the Angami-Naga, Aboi-Miri and Garo of Assam, the Mal-Paharia and Sadgop in Bengal, the Khambu and Lepcha of the Darjeeling District, the Bhuiya and Santal in Chota Nagpur and the Goala, Dosadh and Musahar castes of Bihar. In all the other castes and groups it fades to negligible proportions. On the other hand, it is present in much larger proportion than in the Khasi in the Ao Naga, Miki, Kachari Tipura, Kuki; the Chakma and Magh of the Chitagong Hills; the Gurung and Limbu in Darjeeling, and especially among all the Burmese peoples.

Thus, while the B L "type" is concentrated in the Himalayan region and decreases in importance south eastward, the B P "type" has its proximate centre of diffusion in Burma, and fades rapidly westward from Assam through Bengal to the Ganges Valley where it finally dies away. Now the former of these two "types" appears to represent the southern extension of a great area characterized by

this factor, which area includes most of Central Asia and the Great Plateaus, Northern China and much of the north eastern portion of the continent, and as a "type" shows very close relationship with the Alpine Type so widely spread in Central and Western Europe. The B P "type" on the other hand, represents the western extension of that type which forms the fundamental stratum among the populations of Southern China and much of South-eastern Asia and the Malay Archipelago.

On the basis of a mass of evidence which cannot be presented here, I believe that this B P type pressed from the east and north-east into Assam at a very early date, driving back and in part assimilating the still earlier aboriginal Negroid D P population. It brought with it the ancestral form of the Mon-Khmer speech, which developed among the aboriginal peoples of Bengal, Chota Nagpur etc. a special variety now greatly differentiated and known as Munda. Later, the B L type forced its way south from the region of the Great Plateaus, bringing Tibeto-Burman languages which in course of time replaced the older Mon-Khmer languages throughout Assam, except in the case of the Khasi, who, for some as yet unknown reason, proved more resistant. Although thus the older speech gave way in favour of that of the later immigrants, much of the older culture still survived. Probably, only after this process was largely completed, did the Aryan immigrants, characterized by a strong D L factor, reach Bengal and Assam by way of the Ganges Valley. These new-comers ultimately revolutionized conditions in Bengal and in large part replaced the



earlier speech and culture by that which they brought with them from North-western India, but did not very greatly modify the actual racial complex. In Assam their racial influence was of the slightest, and to-day only the Synteng show any considerable evidence of such mixture.

The Khasi thus, in spite of their linguistic isolation among the peoples of Assam, are racially closely related to the majority of the Tibeto-Burman tribes. With them they represent a very old western drift of south-east Asiatic peoples, super-imposed upon a previous aboriginal Negroid stratum, and overlaid by a later wave of Alpine peoples. Unlike their neighbours, however, they have succeeded in retaining their older speech.

**MALE KHASI.**

Age	Stature	Reach	Head L.	Head B.	Index	Face L.	Face W.	Index	Nose L.	Nose W.	Index
28	1594	1710	188	151	80.3	129	139	92.8	57	39	68.4
25	1605	1670	183	147	80.3	116	139	83.4	49	40	81.6
41	1590	1650	182	141	77.4	112	132	84.8	44	42	95.4
28	1500	1605	177	146	82.5 <sup>*</sup>	109	133	81.9	43	40	93.0
22	1555	1640	181	143	79.0	109	133	81.9	46	38	82.6
23	1533	1530	184	142	77.2	114	134	85.0	50	39	78.0
26	1590	—	183	142	77.6	115	127	90.5	55	35	63.6
33	1634	1700	179	132	73.7	114	126	90.4	44	37	84.1
43	1635	1710	185	145	78.4	115	135	85.2	51	41	80.4
31	1577	1550	171	142	83.0	115	129	89.1	48	37	77.1
36	1595	1660	180	151	83.9	119	142	83.8	58	39	67.2
31	1610	1660	178	145	81.4	110	134	82.1	50	37	74.0
36	1590	1635	191	138	72.2	113	134	84.3	47	36	76.6
40	1585	1665	186	145	78.0	108	132	81.8	49	36	73.5
24	1475	1570	181	138	76.2	108	127	85.0	43	40	93.0
56	1577	1655	190	141	74.2	116	136	85.3	56	43	76.8
37	1560	1640	180	140	77.8	110	132	83.3	49	40	81.6
18	1515	1560	188	136	72.3	109	131	83.2	48	37	77.1
42	1492	1500	180	142	78.9	100	129	77.5	48	40	83.3
35	1670	1695	190	146	76.8	108	135	80.0	45	37	82.2
28	1522	1560	178	150	84.3	114	131	87.0	53	41	77.4
36	1530	1605	182	146	80.2	112	133	84.2	55	41	74.5
40	1607	1665	192	147	76.6	109	140	78.4	53	40	75.5
30	1575	1575	189	144	76.2	115	137	83.9	47	36	76.6
28	1505	1525	180	144	80.0	107	129	82.9	50	38	76.0

<sup>\*</sup>Slightly deformed !

## II. THE ABORIGINES OF CENTRAL INDIA.\*

By RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL, B. A.,

Writers on Indian Ethnology refer to various waves of immigration from which the teeming millions of India are said to have derived their origin. Even the Munda-speaking and the Dravidian and 'Pre-Dravidian' races are said to have been immigrants into the country. This is probably due to the fact that the dominating race of Aryans are immigrants and, as they themselves came from outside, they have fallen into the habit of thinking that their predecessors in the land did the same. They have, therefore, been at pains to discover from various data, geological, archaeological, linguistic and anthropometrical, when their predecessors in the remotest antiquity came over to patronise this land. The primitive races are taken back to some period when they are alleged to have come to this country from somewhere else. Geologists tell us that the Indian Peninsula was formerly cut off from the north of Asia by sea, while a land-connection existed on the one side with Madagascar and on the other with the Malay Archipelago and the inference drawn by some scholars is that the oldest known inhabitants of India came here from those places. There is linguistic affinity between the Munda languages and those of the Indo-Pacific Islands and the Malay Peninsula. Thus the theory of immigration suits the propoun-

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\* This was the Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress at its ninth annual meeting held in February 1922.

ders thereof very well, and some writers have put forward the theory that the Munda or 'Kolarian' tribes entered India from the north east. Again, they find the Brahuïs—a tribe in Baluchistan—speaking a language akin to O.æon, from which they conclude that the Dravidians entered India from the north-west. But no reason has been shown why the reverse should not have been the case. If India had autochthones, why could they not emigrate to Baluchistan, Malay Peninsula and the Indo Pacific Islands? I have not yet come across any cogent reason to suppose that India was barren and wholly colonised from outside.

As a matter of fact there are several reasons to regard the Dravidians as children of the soil. Says Sir George Grierson, "The Dravidian languages form an isolated group. Comparative philologists agree that the Munda languages, Khassi, Mon-khmer, Nancowry and the speech of the aboriginal races of the Malay Peninsula contain a common substratum which cannot be any thing else than the language of an old race which was once settled in all those countries. No traces of that common stock can be shown to exist in the Dravidian forms of speech and, from a philological point of view, it therefore seems probable that the Dravidian languages are derived from the speech of an aboriginal Dravidian population of Southern India, while the Dravidian race at some remote period has received an admixture of tribes belonging to the same stock as the Mon-khmers of Further India. The Dravidian race is not found outside India". It is true that the Australians

share many of the characteristics of the Dravidians but there are not sufficient reasons to include them in one common stock.

The question of the origin and ancient distribution of the Dravidian race belongs, as has been remarked by Sir George Grierson, to the domain of anthropology and of anthropology alone. This science has, however, developed very little in India and it is only recently that it has been taken up in right earnest in some quarters. And one of the most important problems to be solved by it is whether the Dravidians are autochthones or immigrants.

Sir Herbert Risley has introduced a confusion in the racial terminology of this country by including all Munda-speaking peoples under the category of Dravidian, which was formerly restricted to people speaking Tamilian and kindred languages. In fact, Tamilian is a mere variant of Dravidian and I think it is best to continue to use the word in its old sense. Risley's theory of racial distribution has not been universally accepted.

The well-known Dravidian tribes number about a crore as against a crore and a quarter belonging to the Kolarian or Munda races. These do not include castes formed by fusion with later immigrants such as the Aryans or those wholly absorbed by Hinduism. The aborigines apparently had no regular tribes, as is evident from their names, which are merely equivalents of 'man' as distinguished from other animals, in their respective languages. For instance, those calling themselves Korku derive the name from *Kor*, a 'man', *ku* being the plural suffix. Similarly the biggest tribe in Central India is named

Gond, but in its own language its name is *Koitur*, which means 'man'. By the way, it may be remarked that the Aryans being the dominant race, went so far as to impose contemptuous names on the wild people which, at any rate in the case of the bigger tribes, gained currency over the proper tribal names. The name 'Gond' is one of that class, and is derived from a Sanskrit term meaning an ox or cattle, the Gonds being regarded as no better than cattle. As a matter of fact, in certain localities they are still regarded as such. How the subject people submitted to the effrontery of the dominant class is exhibited by a curious incident in my own experience. Some years ago when making ethnographic enquiries in the Bamra State, I asked the Kharias to come up before me, and a number of people immediately separated from the rest of the assembly composed of several aboriginal tribes. To answer a question put by me, they consulted each other talking in their own language which I recognised to be Oraon. I immediately queried, "You say you are Kharias but how is it you speak Oraon?" And the reply was, "Yes, we are really Oraons and speak our Oraon language, but the Oriyas (meaning, Orissa Hindus) call us Kharias and we are therefore obliged to call ourselves Kharias in order to prevent misunderstanding as they apply the name Oraon to the Kharias". The Kharias were also present on the spot and corroborated the story of the so-called Kharias, they themselves answering to the name of Oraon though they admitted to me that they were really Kharias. Thus the primitive people have not only accepted opprobrious names

the etymology of which they did not know but have even condescended to yield to the whims of the dominant race in accepting wrong names imposed on them through the ignorance of the former.

As is well known, the tribes have not altogether escaped the influence of the Hindu caste system which has resulted in the formation of a number of sub-tribes which in several cases have matured into full-blown Hindu castes, and have broken off their connection with the tribe from which they sprang. As remarked by a Census Superintendent, in the stupendous growth the base and the main trunk have in several cases been altogether lost sight of, so that it is now by no means easy either to distinguish the branch from the trunk and the twig, or to locate the root of any trunk, branch or twig. In spite of this a number of tribes have persisted in retaining their original characteristics,

According to the Census statistics, the biggest tribe that has withstood the procession of centuries is that of the Gonds. Its present habitat is Central India which once bore the name of Gondwana after the tribe. According to the Census of 1911, the Gonds numbered 29 lakhs, but the figure is not reliable as some two lakhs of the same tribe in the United Provinces have been separately classified under a name spelt as GONR as distinguished from GOND. But this is a distinction without a difference. Again, certain sub-tribes have been separately classified, for instance, the Koi, the Gowari, the Pardhan and the Parja, which in previous censuses had been included under Gonds. These four sub-tribes muster six lakhs strong, so that

the total number of Gonds goes up to 37 lakhs, which represents the highest tribal strength in India exceeding even that of the Kolis who are now absorbed in Hinduism, and who according to Census tables number close upon 23 lakhs, otherwise the highest figure for any tribe in India, even after excluding  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs Kols from whom the Kolis are said to be derived. The fact, however, remains that on the Dravidian side the Gonds and on the Kolarian side the Kols are the strongest, being almost equal in number, each exceeding 30 lakhs. Both these tribes are found north of the Godavari, though the origin of the former is traced to the country south of that river. It is somewhat curious that in the true Dravida Country, viz., south of the Godavari, there should not be found a Dravidian tribe as strong in number as the Gonds of Central India. The Central Province is full of Gonds. Every seventh man there is a Gond. There are certain hilly districts where as much as 60 per cent of the population is Gond.

There are altogether some forty different tribes in Central India, of which about three-fourths do not individually own a strength of 50 thousand persons. Thus we are left with about nine great tribes, viz the Gonds and the Oraons belonging to the Dravidian group, and the Bhils, Kawars, Korkus, Kols, Sawars, Binjhvars and the Bharias included amongst the 'Kolarians' or rather Munda-speaking tribes. In point of strength, the Dravidians as exhibited by these tribes far out-weigh the 'Kolarians', the former numbering 30 lakhs against 15 of the latter. It is note-worthy that the Kolarians ( Munda tribes ) have been much more assimilated with the Hindus than the Dravidians. In



fact it is very difficult to differentiate the Kawars, Binjhars, Sawars and Bharias from low caste Hindus. These people have absolutely lost their languages, if they had any, and their manners and customs have undergone great changes. In Central India, even the Kols have forgotten their language which is preserved by their brethren in Chota Nagpur. Thus it is only the Korkus amongst the main tribes of 'Kolarians' who speak their primitive tongue. On the other hand the two main tribes of Dravidians mentioned above have retained their languages even in the remotest corners. True, there are thousands of Gonds who speak only Hindi. And yet the persistence with which the primitive tongue has held its own in the midst of very unfavourable surroundings goes to show that languages die hard and are the best index of the tribal unity, if not identity.

I shall now try to give you a glimpse of these nine Central Indian tribes and leave you to judge where they should find their place in the distribution of Indian races. I shall begin with the Gonds as they are important from various points of view—their numerical strength, their primitive character and the share they took in the political history of the Central Provinces for about three or four centuries. One would expect that their ascendancy as rulers of the country must have been in the remote antiquity, 'when they were monarchs of all they surveyed, and their right there was none to dispute', but this is not so. They ruled the province in comparatively recent times, after the fourteenth century A. D., one of their queens, the famous Durgavati of Garha Mandla, having opposed and fought the

Great Akbar. The original ancestor of the ruling family appears to have migrated from the south of the Godavari. This has led some writers to believe, that the whole Gond population came from that quarter. But the advent of the ruling family dates back to the fourteenth century. Surely three million Gonds did not start at once in order to strike the great Kalachuris of Tripuri in their own homes and oust them for their audacity in raiding their country again and again during the period immediately preceding the exodus. In fact, the first ancestor of the ruling family, according to tradition, was a mere adventurer and got the throne through luck. The king of the Jubbulpur country having no male issue was advised to leave the selection of his successor to Divine will and for this purpose a blue jay was released. The bird alighted on the head of one Jado Rai, a stranger from the south of the Godavari and the king gave him his daughter and kingdom. Even the beginning of the Christian era when the Andhras from the south overran Central India is too late a date for the emigration of the Gonds from the south of the Godavari. It is possible that during the Andhra ascendancy some Dravidian families may have settled in Central India. These may well have been Gonds, but this is not sufficient to account for their presence there in such force as mentioned before.

That the Gonds have been for ages in Central India is testified to even by mountains, rivers and valleys which bear names taken from their aboriginal tongue. For instance, in the Northernmost

districts—Saugor, Damoh and Jubbulpore—where Gondi has practically disappeared, we find such villages as Rengajhari, Malhka Kohka, Ami, Murukuru, Tumripar, Surekha etc., all derived from Gondi words for various kinds of trees. In the same tracts may be traced names of mountains and rivers derived from the Gondi language, for instance, Kaimur, Bhandar, Kenjua etc. among hills and the Umrer, the Bhamrar, the Simrar, the Paphrar, the Nibar, the Kulhar and several others among rivers all with the suffix-ar derived from *er*, the Gondi term for water. Toponymy is of great value in a matter like this, but I do not find any serious effort made to study it properly. According to the legendary account of the origin of the tribe, the Gonds emanated from Kachi-kopa Lohagarh or the Iron Valley in the red hill which is located in the Central Provinces at Pachmarhi, whose striking hill scenery and red soil cleft by many deep inaccessible ravines render it a likely place for the incident.

Capable observers have described the physical appearance of the Gonds as exhibiting well-proportioned bodies but rather ugly features. They have a roundish head, distended nostrils, wide mouth, thick lips, straight black hair and scanty beard and moustache. Gond women differ among themselves more than the men. In the open tracts many of them are fine robust creatures, finer animals by far than the men. In the interior, again, bevvies of Gond women may be seen who are more like monkeys than human beings. The features of all are strongly marked and coarse.

Gond men as tall as Hindus and more strongly built and with comparative well-cut features are now frequently seen, though the somewhat broad nose is still characteristic of the tribe as a whole. This would be perhaps put down as a very unscientific description of the physical type, but there has been no anthropometrical survey in the Central Provinces to enable one to give precisely the cephalic or nasal index.

And let me here interpose a remark about the reliability of anthropometry in the case of Indian peoples. Of the three main methods applied to distinguish between the races of mankind, viz., physical, cultural and linguistic, the first-named is considered as the most satisfactory basis on which a classification of mankind can be erected. Skin-colour, hair, stature, nose, face and head-form are the chief factors constituting physical characters for classification. Anthropometry chiefly comes in for head-form and nose, which in India are to some extent often shaped artificially or sought to be shaped. There is a wide-spread custom of moulding the head and nose according to notions of supposed beauty. Walcher has shown that in infancy the bones of the skull are so soft that it can be made longer or broader according as the child lies on its side or its back. What then when Indian midwives actually manipulate the head and nose to put them in proper order? In the western Punjab it is the almost universal practice to flatten the back of a baby's head by making it lie on its back with its head resting on a hard

surface. A very detailed and interesting account of this practice is given in the Baluchistan Census Report, where it is stated to be extremely common. It is not less common in Central India, though the Gond midwives do not seem to be partial to an aquiline nose. They mould the head all the same though they may not touch the nose. Nearly all people including the Hindus do the same, the matter being at the mercy of the midwives' notions of beauty. Among the Hindus, the pulling of the nose to make it aquiline is very common, which renders the nose test perhaps of doubtful scientific value. On the Madras side, however, the custom of moulding the head and the nose has not been heard of, and one may expect some sort of uniformity, but Thurston tells us there is none. This result cannot but be disappointing.

To return to our Gond: Let us now look to his dress. There was a time within the memory of living men, when in certain hilly tracts they went quite naked. It was local officers who compelled them to use small strips of cloth, and the Gonds were obliged to do it—as the officers would not allow them to visit bazars in a state of nature. They commenced by putting on the strips for the period they were inside the bazar, and would then deposit them on a tree while returning home, but later on they got accustomed to a whole-time wear. A Gond's dress even now continues to be very simple. A rag on the loins and another on the head complete his costume. These are really substitutes for leaves, bark or skin, formerly used to cover nudity in the one case, and for bark or creeper band, in the other,

to keep the hair in its place, when shaving or cutting the hair was not practised. Of course, the dress varies according to the stages of development the Gonds have undergone in various places. In the towns they may be found as fully dressed as any Aryan high caste. The ornaments of Indian jungle tribes as a rule consist of bead garlands and tinsel of sort and so are those of the Gonds.

The Gonds live in mud houses or huts made of bamboos plastered with mud, with thatched roofs. The household articles consist of earthen pots for cooking and keeping water and for distilling liquor which is now prohibited, a few gourds for cooling water, grinding mills, contrivances for extracting oil and husking grain, leaf plates and cups, ladles, baskets, bins, pipes, mats, brooms and a few odd things. The fire drill is now seldom used and has been replaced by the *chuk-nak* (steel and flint). Until lately their favourite mode of agriculture was the burning of forest and sowing seeds in the ashes without any ploughing operations but this is now prohibited by Government.

Their peculiar hunting appliance is the *Dhatti*. To one end of a stick an earthen pot with a wide hole is attached and to the other end a basket of faggots. Fire is kindled in the earthen pot and a noise with rings is made. This is done in the night. Wild animals come dancing drawn by the light and the jingling noise made with the rings. A second man armed with a bamboo strikes the animals as they approach the *Dhatti*. The Gonds have many kinds of traps and snares and use also bows and arrows.

lances and spears for hunting. They surround a tiger and spear him. Their food is simple. In the wilder tracts they live on roots and fruits and the flesh of wild animals. Wild mice are a delicacy to them and sometimes the penalty for tribal offences is levied in the shape of so many mice to be provided by the offender for a tribal feast. The principal amusement of the Gonds is the dances in which both males and females take part. They have a peculiar sustaining power and would sometimes dance the whole night and again be ready to do so if called on. A marriage ceremony is the greatest occasion for it.

The present internal structure of the tribe shows, that the Gonds have contributed a number of occupational groups, such as the Agarias or iron workers, the Gowaris or graziers, the Ojhas or soothsayers, the Pardhans or priests and minstrels, the Solahas or carpenters and the Koilabhutis or dancers or prostitutes. There are a number of others which form endogamous divisions and are on the way to complete separation like the occupational groups.

The Gond rules of exogamy vary in different parts, and in one respect resemble the system found in Australia, by which the whole tribe is split into two or four divisions, and every man in one or two of them must marry a woman in the other one or two. This is considered by Sir James Frazer to be the beginning of exogamy, by which marriage was prohibited first between brothers and sisters and then between parents and children by the arrangement of these main divisions. The Gond septs are totemistic. People with different totems may

not intermarry if they worship the same number of gods. The system in certain localities is, however, very complex.

Marriage is adult, and pre-nuptial license is allowed especially in a *Gotal-ghar* which almost every village possesses. It is a house where unmarried boys and girls dance and sleep. The Oraons also have a similar house, and we learn from Professor Haddon that the Papuans also possess an analogous institution. Almost everywhere in a village, he informs us, there is one building, often two, of a public character, where men eat and spend their time. In these young men sleep and strangers are entertained. The Gond marriage is a simple ceremony. Its distinctive feature is that the procession starts from the bride's house and the marriage is held at that of the bridegroom, quite the reverse of what is prevalent amongst the Hindus. Survivals of the custom of marriage by capture are to be found in many localities. A bride-price is paid. The practice of *Lamsena* or serving for a wife is commonly adopted by boys who cannot afford to buy one. Traces perhaps of the matriarchate are found in the custom of marrying the brother's daughter to the sister's son, which was done for bringing the latter as an heir to his house. Now-a-days the marriage of the brother's son with the sister's daughter is very much in vogue, in fact it is claimed and admitted as a right on the ground that the brother's family gave a girl to the other family, and the latter was therefore bound to return a girl to the former family. This is called *Dudh lautana* or bringing back the



milk. Widow marriage, divorce and polygamy are freely allowed. The last is reckoned as a sign of wealth and dignity and is sometimes made an exhibition of. A Gond in Balaghat who had seven wives was accustomed always to take them to the bazar walking in a line behind him.

The Gonds bury their dead. They deify them and worship a host of Gods, of whom Pedda Pen or Bura Deo stands at the head. He lives on a Sāj tree (*Boswellia serrata*). The Gonds were accustomed to human sacrifices and hook swinging, but cannibalism was unknown.

As a rule the Gonds are simple-minded, shy, quiet, docile, and honest. They are a pleasant people and leave kindly memories on those who have to do with them. Comparatively truthful, always ready for a laugh, familiar with the paths and animals and fruits of the forest, lazy cultivators on their own account, but good farm-servants under supervision; they are the fit inhabitants of the hilly and jungly tracts in which they are found. In the wilder tracts, the Gonds used to fly at the approach of strangers and in some parts they had great fear of a horse. As a class they are very ignorant. I have seen some Gonds who refused to accept copper coin eight times greater in value than the cowries they wanted in exchange for an arrow. A gentleman relates that he once sent a basket of mangoes to Bhadrachalam, warning the Gond carriers not to eat any of the fruit, as it would be known from a note placed in the basket. On the way, however, they were overcome by the attraction of the fruit, and decided

that if they buried the note it would be unable to see them eating. They accordingly did so, and ate some of the mangoes, and when taxed with their dishonesty at the journey's end, could not understand how the note could have known of their eating when it had not seen them.

This brief account of the Gonds may give you some little idea of the Great Central Indian tribe, whose ancestors during the sixteenth century lorded it over a province somewhat larger than the British isles and almost equal to Japan. In the words of a Settlement Officer of a District where they had one of their capitals, "the Gonds left a well-governed and contented kingdom adorned with admirable works of engineering skill and prosperous to a point which no after time has reached (in those localities). They have left their mark behind them in royal tombs, lakes and palaces, but most of all in the seven miles of battlemented stone wall at Chanda and strong forts at various places". In the Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces, some 124 pages have been given to the description of Gonds, but they deserve a separate monograph which still remains to be written.

I now come to the Oraons on whom a very interesting monograph has been written by that unselfish worker who is doing so much for Indian Anthropology, I mean, Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy. As you know, he hails from Ranchi, the Head Quarters of Chota Nagpur where Oraons abound. In the Central Provinces they are merely an out-growth numbering only 83,000 against their

total strength of over 7 lakhs in India, yet in Central India they form the second Dravidian tribe very appropriately, as they are so closely associated with Gonds. Mr. Roy identifies them as the monkeys who formed the armies of Rama. The Oraons in their own language call themselves Kurukhs, the derivation of which is unknown. It may be derived from some word meaning 'man', but on that account we cannot go to any sort of root, which may yield that meaning, as Dr. Hahn seems to suggest. In his opinion Kurukh may be identified with the Kolarian Koro or Horo, man, but this cannot be admissible in as much as no tribe would go to another to get its name from it. The tribal name must naturally come from the original language of the tribe itself. A number of scholars have tried to trace the etymology of both the names, but none of their conjectures appears to be satisfactory. I quote them here simply to show how fancy works in such matters, as it has done in the case of tracing the origin of the Indian people, without bringing conviction home. Let me, however, first tell you that this tribe owns some six different names, viz. Dhanger, Kuda, Modi and Kisan, besides Oraon and Kurukh. Dhanger means a farm servant and this name is given to them where they serve as such. Elsewhere they are diggers of earth and therefore called Kuda, which means a digger. In some places they make a speciality of constructing embankments of fields and are called Modi from Muda, an embankment. Where they cultivate for themselves they are known as Kisan, which

means a cultivator. As regards the most prevalent name Oraon, some derive it from Aryan and others from aboriginal languages. Dr. Hahn was the first to derive it from Orgora, a hawk, which is a totemistic sept of the tribe, and he thought this was the name given them by the Hindus. Sir George Grierson suggested an improvement, saying 'it might be derived from the Bargandi urang-men'. This may be plausible, but no tribe as stated before would go to borrow a word from another language for its name. If it wanted to call itself a collection of men, why could it not take a word from the language it was using. Mr. Roy is of opinion, that Oraon is a corruption of an uncomplimentary name given to them by the Hindus as Rawanput or born of the demon Rawana. The original word was in due course abbreviated into Rawan *vulgo* Rawana which with an interjection 'O' assumed the form of Oravana or Oraon. Here let me add, that the Gonds are known as Rawanbansi or descended from Rawana, but they seem to have escaped an appellation derived from that suggestive source. The Oraons are known to spend what they get, and some therefore derive the name from *urana*, to spend. Some say they own their name to an agricultural operation *urna*, to pour seed through the tube of the sowing plough, or from their partiality to *arna*, a kind of rice. Again it is suggested that as they bend very low while saluting, they received the name from *uramana* to bend. Yet another derivation is suggested from *urai*, the *khas* plant, which the Oraons plant on the grave of their dead. Others

again very plausibly suggest that since they were stupid and ignorant, they were nicknamed Oraon from *arua*, an owl. Since it is no disgrace to err in the company of *savants*, I have also ventured to add a derivation of my own, assuming that Mr. Roy's theory that the Oraons were Vanars or monkeys of Rama's army is admissible. I see no difficulty why Vanar should not have assumed the present form of their name. From Vanar the word Vanrao would simply be a form meaning "monkey like". Vanrao may change into Unraon leading finally to Uraon. Now let us consider the name they use among themselves. As stated before Dr. Hahn would derive Kurukh from the Kolarian *horo*, men, or the Dravidoseythian Kurukh a cryer. Dr. Grierson does not support this view, and remarks that a people may call themselves speakers but not cryers. Mr. Roy finds a Sanskrit origin for it from *Krisan*, changed into *Krikhau*, *Krikhad* and then *Kurukh*. Some say, *Kurukhs* came from *Konkan* and that gave them the name. Others say their colour is black and they were, therefore, nicknamed *Krishnatwach* which corrupted into *Kurukh*. Another derivation is from Tamil *Karugu* an eagle which is a totemistic sept, and yet another from '*Kurkhi*' a fence referring to their making fences for fields, as part of their agricultural work. According to their own story the *Kurukhs* derive their name from *Karakh*, the name of their first King, who ruled over *Karush* or *Karukh* country, the old name of *Shahabad* District whence they say they emigrated. It is very probable that their tribal name is a

territorial one derived from the country from which they migrated. But this postulates another primitive name, since they say they went to Shahabad from the Karnatak, where they must have had some other name which is now lost.

Oraons resemble the Gonds in many respects. Both are hard drinkers and great dancers, both are *Mandar* and *Chatkora* players, using double faced drums and castanets, both have Gotalghars or Dhumkurias for their bachelors and maids already described, both have the same sort of beliefs and ceremonies and both are hilarious and light-hearted, with no cares to trouble them. They resemble each other in features also and the Oraon language is decidedly Dravidian. The most marked feature of the language is its guttural intonation. One gets startled at *Kher*, *Khaddar*, *Khalli*, *Khise*, *Khes*, *Khikha*, *Khibda*, *Khann*, but amongst the wilder Gonds the Gondi is of the same type. We hear a Maria or hill Gond saying "Boghe oroq manena irur maq mattur", while the sentence would be spoken by a Gond of the plains as "Bore orur mannena irur mark mantur". In Mr. Roy's monograph interesting features of the tribe have been brought out and they need not be mentioned, but there is one speciality worth notice. There are traces of marriages between a grand-father and a grand-daughter, which, so far as I know, have not been detected in other Indian tribes. But it is said to prevail amongst the aborigines of Australia and the Island of Pentecost.

Besides the two great Dravidian tribes there

are about ten others whose total strength in Central India does not exceed  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs. Amongst these the most important are the Kandhs or Khonds whose total strength in India is about seven lakhs, out of whom only about 10,000 live in the south-east corner of the Central Provinces. Their habitat is the hills of Orissa and Ganjam district, the tract which they once ruled. They have been very notorious for human sacrifices.

A special interest attaches to a local tribe found only in the south-western portion of the Central Provinces and nowhere else. It is called Kolam. Its speech bears some interesting points of analogy with the Toda dialect of the Nilgiris. Sir George Grierson is of opinion that from a philological point of view the Kolams must be considered as the remnants of an old Dravidian tribe, who have not been involved in the development of the principal Dravidian languages or of a tribe who did not originally speak a Dravidian form of speech. A curious practice prevailed amongst them of capturing husbands for women who would otherwise have gone unwedded, this being apparently a survival of the matriarchate. Widows and widowers were exempt from capture and debarred from capturing. The total number of Kolams does not exceed 25,000. The rear of the Dravidians is brought up by the Chenchus, apparently casual visitors from the Hyderabad State. A Census Superintendent playfully tells us, "He who would enumerate the Chenchus of the Nallamalai forest must needs first catch them. And a Chenchu possesses some remarkable faculties, among them

the faculty of seeing things and of disappearing before things seen. Lie hidden behind a bush and watch a group of Chenchus crossing a forest clearing ; stir a finger and the Chenchus are not, it is as though the earth had swallowed them up ”.

To return to our seven ‘Kolarian’ tribes, the Kols and Bhils are the most important in this group. The former are found to the east and the latter to the west of the province, and both have imbibed Hindu manners and customs, the Bhils having forgotten their language altogether while the Kols have preserved theirs only in the locality whence they have migrated, viz, Chota Nagpur. Some Bhils have even become Musalmans but they were forcibly converted by Aurangzeb. These latter have, however, formed a community of their own and have preserved some of their primitive customs. They do not freely mix with other Musalmans. The Bhils seem to have attracted the attention of the Aryans much earlier than any other tribe except perhaps the Savars whose ancestors are sometimes spoken of as Bhils. Apparently Bhils and Savars were two branches of the same tribe descended from a common ancestor. ‘Nishāda’ is sometimes used as a synonym for Bhils as they are called Venaputras. Nishāda being the son of Venu.

Next in point of strength come the Korkus and the Kawars, the former speaking their primitive tongue, while the latter have altogether forgotten theirs ; certainly an off-shoot of the Korwas of Chota Nagpur. they seem to have wander :



away from their parental home in the north-eastern corner and settled in the very heart of the Dravidian people in the western portion of the Central Provinces. All these appear to have sprung from the common 'Kol' stock, to which Ho, Munda and Santal bear a still closer resemblance. It appears that the Kawars, a polite from of Kaura, Kora or Kol are as closely related as the other tribes who have preserved their languages. So are the Binjhvars and the Bharias, the former deriving their name from the Vindhya mountains and the latter from the great Bhar tribe of the United Provinces, about whom Mr. Crooke says that they were a race closely allied to Kols, Cheros and Seoris, who at an early date succumbed to the invading Aryans.

Thus out of the seven main 'Kolarian' tribes of Central India, the Bhils, Savars, Kols and Bharias are known for certain to have been ruling tribes and the Kawars and Binjhvars even at present own large landed estates. Only the Korkus alone did not possess their own raj, but they appear to be a later off-shoot from the parental stock which was dominant in Chota Nagpur.

I shall now try to sum up the inferences I have drawn from the study of these tribes in Central India and submit them to you for consideration whether they can stand the anthropological test. Except Sir Herbert Risley, who denies any racial difference between 'Kolarians' and Dravidians, and the followers of his school, others have hitherto recognised three primary stocks in the Indian population, viz., the 'Kolarian', the Dravidian and

the Aryan ; and those who maintain that all the three came from outside describe their immigration in the order named,—the Kolarians entering first from the south-east and sweeping over the whole of India, followed by the Dravidians from the north-west who drove the Kolarians to the hills and forests and were themselves finally hunted out by the Aryans to take refuge in similar places. In my view the Dravidians were the autochthones of the Indian Peninsula even when it was cut off from the North of Asia by sea, and if the Kolarians were not the autochthones of the then Southern Asia or the present Upper India, they may have entered North India via Malay and Assam and swept over Northern India dominating it till they were ousted by the Aryans. This would explain the somewhat curious fact that those Kolarian tribes who have forgotten their primitive tongue speak an Aryan dialect and never a Dravidian one. Had the 'Kolarians' been ousted by the Dravidians, some tribes at least would have yielded to the influence of the Dravidian dialects, but as they never came in contact with Dravidians they could not but yield to the influence of their direct conqueror's speech, viz, the Aryan dialects. Professor Keane in his introduction to the *Cochin Tribes and Castes* states that "in the first broad division between Aryans and Non-Aryans the former were classed as Sud (Suddham) that is the pure, the latter as Kol, the impure, literally swine and by other uncomplimentary terms". I do not know whence this has been taken, but it seems to prove that the first tribes they encountered were

those whom they named as 'Kols' and these must be those who still bear that name and its variants. How could the Dravidians who never received that name from the Aryans be included under that name? The tribes that they came in contact with are the Bhils, Savars, Kols and Bhars, some of whom, if not all, find a mention in old Sanskrit literature, but there is no trace of a single Dravidian tribe having been defeated by the Aryans in Upper India. If the Dravidians were successors of the Kolarians, the Aryans should have certainly come in contact first with the Dravidians, and it is the Dravidians whom they would have called 'Kols' and not the congeners of Australian aborigines who had been driven out of the field by the Dravidians. It is now partially admitted that the Dravidians are an indigenous people and even Professor Haddon has opined that the Dravidians may have always been in India, yet the fact remains to be satisfactorily established by further researches.

In the words of Prof. Turner of the Benares University, the path of knowledge is laborious, the road is long and difficult. It calls for high endeavour and the nobility of sacrifice. But this reward awaits the traveller.

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### III. THE ORIGIN OF THE CHINESE JUNK AND SAMPAN.\*

By JAMES HORNELL, F. L. S., F. R. A. I.,  
*Director of Fisheries, Madras.*

Both the Chinese sea-going junk and the harbour sampan are craft differing in essential features from all other types known from lands outside the pale of Chinese influence in commerce and maritime designing. There is no reason to doubt that the Chinese are the inventors of both these forms. Each in its class has most admirable features. The junk sails well in spite of the clumsy form it has in the eyes of the Westerner, a feeling that arises largely from unconscious prejudice against what is to him a departure from an approved and familiar type; in fact the battened sails of the junk lie flatter than the best cut canvas sails and therefore have an advantage. In weatherly qualities the junk when skilfully handled is an excellent sea-boat and taken all round it was, till the middle of the 18th century, fully the equal and possibly the superior of the ordinary European sailing coaster of equal burden. The day of the junk as an ocean trader has now passed, but this is due to the introduction of steam power and not to inferiority to the European and Indian types of sea-craft and sail.

The varieties of the junk are innumerable; a volume would be required to describe the local variations,

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\* This paper was read at the ninth annual meeting of Indian Science Congress (Anthropological Section) held in February, 1922.

particularly in regard to the rig. For the purpose of this note it will be enough to consider the junk as any sea-going Chinese vessel built and equipped according to the naval traditions of the country and in proximate origin derived from the humble sampan.

The mosquito fleet of the harbours and of the inshore fishermen, may all be classed as sampans; as an open boat for harbour work the sampan is unsurpassed anywhere, and more than holds its own alike with the European rowing boat and the Indian dug-out. In many ways it is superior. Its great width and short length make it handy to manoeuvre and safe in use in crowded waters, its rounded bottom and shallow draft make it easy to propel, while the fact that only one man is needed for propulsion and steering is an economy that tells strongly in its favour. The fact that this man stands to scull is another advantage. Until comparatively recently its range was limited to the Chinese sea-coast and as far south as Singapore. It has now spread to Burma and to Bengal, where for harbour work it is becoming the universal shore boat at the expense of indigenous designs. In the sampan the beginnings are seen of many structures that become complex and difficult to read in the larger vessels. A small sampan may be described in its essential features as a broad shallow keelless open boat with truncate stem and stern, steered and usually sculled by an oar worked at the centre of the stern. The gunwales instead of terminating at the ends of the stern bulkhead (transom), are usually

continued in a characteristic fashion into a prominent backwardly projecting 'horn' on each side. In the junk, the low sides of the sampan become lofty timbered walls, a substantial deck is added, bulkheads and cabins are fitted and instead of a scull for steering, a huge median rudder is installed, let down into position in the centre of an overhanging transom stern through a great open trunkway. The masts vary in number with the size of the vessel and the particular trade in which she is engaged; in the larger ones there is usually a pair of short jigger masts, one each quarter.

So far as we know the Chinese were not originally a maritime people. The evidence available points to their origin inland, somewhere in the north-eastern part of Central Asia. On arriving in the maritime region of the China of to-day, the Chinese according to their traditions found these lands occupied by aboriginal tribes who offered strong resistance to the invading hordes. The evidence we have indicates the probability of these tribes being closely akin to and possibly actually the ancestors of the Polynesians. Much points in this direction. Incidentally I may suggest that the remarkable parallelism between the curious and distinctive boats and boat-building methods of the ancient north-land of Europe with those found to-day in Eastern Indonesia (Moluccas and Kei Islands particularly) may connote a former culture continuity between the coast and island peoples of the Western Pacific and those of

northern Europe by way of the Siberian coast in the warm post-glacial 'maritime' period when the land level was lower than to-day and warm conditions prevailed in high latitudes from North America to the Baltic; this period must have anteceded the immigration into Scandinavia of the Nordic variety of *Homo europæus*. The ancestors of the Vikings no more than those of the Chinese were sea-faring people originally; both borrowed and immensely improved upon the models they found in use by the earlier inhabitants of the coasts they over-ran, when settling in what now constitute their homelands.<sup>1</sup>

To account for the origin of the curiously truncate bow of the sampan and its two lateral stern projections, so utterly different from the normal type of the small craft of other countries, seemed an insoluble puzzle until it occurred to me that the similarity of the Dravidian terms for a double canoe, *jangala* in Tulu, *Sangadam* in Tamil, and *changadam* in Malayali, with the word 'junk' as applied to a Chinese sailing vessel, might be more than a curious coincidence. Attention being directed into this channel, several points hitherto overlooked or not considered, assumed great importance.

Chief of these points is the belief already referred to that people of Polynesian ancestry were the coast inhabitants of China at one time; the Chinese being inland people are almost certain to

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1. The most conspicuous of these resemblances is the use of perforated cleats on the inner side of the hull planking, whereto the ribs are lashed by thongs or cord. Water boilers of similar pattern are common to both areas as is also the general form of at least two of their oldest types of boat hulls

have learnt the rudiments of boat building and navigation from these people. Now the typical vessels of Polynesia fall into two main classes, double canoes and single outrigger canoes. The former, which alone concern us here consists of two twin hulls, which may either be large dugouts or plank built, connected together at a suitable distance apart by transverse beams, whereon a platform or main deck is built. On this cabin superstructures may be added for the protection of the crew and passengers. Such double canoes were formerly common throughout the whole length and breadth of Polynesia, from Fiji to the Marquesas, from New Zealand to Hawaii. To-day they are few in number, small in size and in many islands their existence is known only from the too-often meagre and inadequate descriptions and illustrations left by the old circumnavigators; to Captain Cooke we owe in particular a great debt of gratitude in this respect for the vivid accounts he left on record of the more notable of these great crafts encountered in his wanderings. From these details and from the degenerate survivals of this craft still seen here and there, we are enabled to reconstruct the appearance and structure of the magnificent double-canoes that still existed at the beginning of the 19th century. In the majority one hull was slightly the smaller. In others, such as those of Tahiti, the two hulls are similar. As Polynesian migrations have been in the main from West to East, the eastern or peripheral are most likely to represent the oldest



existing type, and various independent indications corroborate this deduction.

The Tahitian double canoe had equal hulls, ranging up to 70 feet or even more in length, but very narrow, the longest usually not exceeding two feet in width. The two were ranged parallel, at a distance of some three feet apart and then joined by means of cross poles to which the hulls were securely lashed. Upon these transverse poles, a long plank-laid platform was raised, carrying a lightly constructed palm leaf cabin to shelter the crew and passengers. The fore-end of each hull was low and usually extended horizontally forward by means of a plank that might project as much as four feet; this constituted a sort of fore-deck, of advantage in boarding the canoe from the beach. More noticeable was the form of the stern, high and finely curved upwards; in the largest the rise might be as much as 8 to 10 feet above the deck level, giving a fantastic and yet graceful appearance to the completed craft.

If we conceive of a people possessing as their best cargo carriers such double-canoes as these and having urgent need of craft capable of carrying much larger burdens, it is easy to imagine them evolving a plank-built boat on the same lines; the result would be a sampan. But it is possible that the first stage in this evolution consisted in the connection of the bottoms of twin canoes by means of cross planking similar to the deck platform planking; in the same way the space between the bows would be closed in abruptly and similarly the space aft between the

two sterns, giving much greater cargo capacity, especially if the two hulls be separated by a distance of several feet from one another. The closing in of the two ends would give the identical truncate appearance seen in both ends of every sampan to-day. As the stern of dugout canoes is frequently prolonged upwards and backwards in a slender abovewater ornament, as for example in the Tahitian double canoes described above the effect would be to leave a long lateral projection on each side of the stern bulkhead which closes in obliquely the two sterns of the canoes. Later on the useless inner side of the juxtaposed canoes would be cut away to afford greater cargo space, and subsequently when boats entirely plank-built were evolved, the innate conservatism of the builders would perpetuate the main features of the old outlines.

With increase in size and progress towards the junk design, the steering oar developed into a heavy and deeply immersed rudder rendered necessary from the fact that the vessel being more or less flat or round bottomed due to her peculiar origin was inclined to make great leeway. This large rudder therefore serves both the purpose of steering and of a drop keel. Marco Polo at the end of the thirteenth century tells us how the great junks carrying his embassy through the Gulf of Siam and among the islands off the Sumatra coast, had "to lift their rudder owing to the shallowness of the sea". This cannot be done with the rudders used by vessels of European and present-day Indian build, but is comparatively easy

in the case of junks, as there the rudders are hung loosely in an open trunkway up which they can be drawn up by a windlass when necessary. In the junk the two projecting stern horns of the sampan have disappeared in order to permit of the construction in the space between them of a counter-shaped structure from which the rudder may be suspended and manipulated. In the centre of this heavy overhanging counter, a large opening or trunk-way is left and it is in this that the deeply immersed and extremely heavy rudder is suspended, its movements being controlled by a windlass on deck.

In a corresponding manner the snub-nosed stem of the sampan changed into a sharper form, better adapted to the requirements of craft of considerable draft; the tiny sampan can ride over the waves, the deep-draft junk has to breast its way through them, hence a rounded or more or less pointed bow is requisite.

But even in this change from a truncate to a rounder stem, a vestige of the double prows of the original double-canoe is conserved in typical junks of old pattern; in these the bows above deck level are open; the stemhead ends at this point (level with the deck), the bulwarks ending a short distance behind on either side. This design has practical value for anchoring purposes in the absence of the adoption of hawse pipes—never seen in the true junk. Just as in the double-canoe, steering is most conveniently and and powerfully effected by an oar worked in a rowlock on the aft side of the connecting plat-

form, so in the same craft, an anchor stone is most conveniently thrown over and hoisted in from the fore edge of the platform; the idea persists in the junk, the anchors being put overboard when required through the median opening in the bulwarks over the stem head—the place corresponding in the junk to the centre of the fore-edge of the connecting platform in a double canoe.

The above conclusions fall into line with and go far to confirm the theory that I have put forward elsewhere <sup>2</sup> that the Proto-Polynesians at one time occupied the coast regions of South-East Asia and of the islands lying to the east and south, Micronesia and Indonesia. This race is—viz., the only one that seems to have adapted the design of the double-canoe to sea-going craft. I have come to the conclusion that these people had already evolved this type of craft at the time the Chinese spread to the coast lands of what is now China proper, and particularly to the coast south of the mouth of the Yang-tze-kiang. Like the Japanese of to-day, the Chinese had then little of the conservatism which has now become so essentially a national characteristic. In the beginning they must have been highly inventive and adaptive and it is clear to me that they seized eagerly upon the double-canoe idea of the Proto-Polynesians and developed it on lines wholly original and absolutely divergent from those of the double-canoe people.

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2. "The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Designs", *Memoirs, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1920.

Another conclusion to which my studies of Asiatic and Oceanic sea-craft have forced me, is that the origin of the outrigger canoe is not due to a modification of the raft as postulated by Lane-Fox (Pitt-Rivers);<sup>3</sup> it is far more likely to be derived from the double canoe, which in turn is a contrivance for the stabilizing of the dugout canoe for employment at sea. Recently in an attempt to introduce improved fishing methods in an Indian locality where catamarans alone are employed by the local fisherman, two dugout canoes were handed to the men engaged. Although the scene of operations was an irrigation reservoir, the wavelets and the men's inexperience caused the canoes to roll sufficiently to frighten the crews, who refused to continue work in them if used singly; they suggested as remedy the lashing together of the two dugouts; and this being done, they resumed fishing. Now so far as I know these men had never seen nor heard of a double canoe; the idea is a natural one that occurs to anyone endowed with moderate intelligence. The Proto-Polynesians improved on this idea by lashing the two canoes at a distance of several feet apart, at the opposite ends of long poles laid athwart the gunwales of the canoes. This plan has two advantages over canoes lashed side by side, (*a*) greatly improved stability, and (*b*) increased carrying capacity, with greater accommodation for passengers. The further transition to the outrigger was effected when a handier craft and greater speed were required; the first step to this would be made when the connecting platform was

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3. *Evolution of Culture and other Essays*: Oxford, 1906, page 221.

reduced to a small number of poles and one of the two originally equal-sized dugouts was replaced by a miniature one not used to carry cargo or crew, but solely as a counterpoise weight. The exact counterpart of this stage still exists or did so till recently in the Fiji islands as reported by Lane Fox.<sup>4</sup> From this the transition to the solid float still retaining in many cases canoe-shaped outlines, is easy and natural ; as soon as it is made, we have the single outrigger canoe as seen on the South Indian and Sinhalese coasts to-day and in endless modification throughout Oceania. The double outrigger used almost solely by Malaysian people of predominantly Mongoloid blood, is a further modification of the single outrigger, made by a people who, when they invaded the islands of Indonesia, were comparatively inexpert in boatercraft and without the boldness and skill requisite to use safely the tricky single outrigger employed by the coast folk whom they dispossessed. The addition of a second outrigger adds greatly to the stability of the canoe, but is clumsy and cumbersome and is a check upon speed. To-day when branches of this Malayan race have become skilful seamen and bold fishermen we find a reversion to the single outrigger taking place in certain districts ( North Java and occasionally in South Celebes ), and in others a total abandonment of the outrigger design in favour of plank built boats. In the Pacific, where the double canoe attained its highest development and utility, it constituted the essential

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4. *Loc. Cit.* page 221.

factor of transport in the colonization of far-outlying groups, such as New Zealand and the Hawaiian Islands, unprovided with island stages in the gap between them and the earlier inhabited archipelagoes. In all probability double canoes carried the first waves of Malayo-Polynesian emigrants to Madagascar, Ceylon and South India forming convenient stages in the journey, while in China, as we have seen, the double-canoe became transformed into the sampan and the junk. In India double-canoes are now used solely on rivers and backwaters, while in Madagascar they have disappeared, their place being taken by outrigger canoes of typical Malay (Javanese) pattern, originally of the double form, now replaced almost entirely by the single type—a return to the primitive Polynesian (and Negrito) design, and a result exactly paralleled in North Central Java where the current Madagascar outrigger design appears to have originated.

*The derivation of the word Junk.*—Murray's New English Dictionary states that 'Junk' is a word of oriental origin, and is apparently an adaptation of the Javanese *djong* (occurring in compositions of the 13th century or earlier) meaning 'ship' or 'large vessel'. He adds that some have sought the origin of the word in the Chinese *chuan*, ship or sailing vessel, but as the Portuguese and Dutch were established in Java and the Malay Archipelago before they visited China they became familiar at a very early date with the Javanese *djong* and the Malay *adjong* as the term applied to all large vessels found in the Archipelago and not specifically limited to Chinese ships as is the practice nowadays.

The Chinese word *chün* has no connexion with the Javanese term.

From this it is clear that junk comes to us from the Javanese either through the Portuguese rendering *junco* or the Dutch *jonk*. But I have already made reference to the fact that in Southern India the terms in the principal Dravidian languages for a double canoe seem to have a closely related root. Thus in Tulu this form of 'boat' is termed *jangālu*, in Malayali *changālam*, in Tamil *sangādam*, and in Telugu *sangāli*. Besides the term *jangālu*, a second name, *sangāde*, is also employed in South Canara, being probably the Canarese form, the former being Tulu; in the same locality the corrupt form of *jangār* is used by Europeans, apparently originated by the Portuguese. Even in Bengal, distant from the Dravidian country, the same root can be traced in the term *dōnga*, there applied to double canoes, usually made by joining two dugout hulls made from the butts of Palmyra palms. The prevalence of the same word with local variations over the whole of South India, in every case used to denote a double-canoe, appears to me a clear indication that this form of craft was formerly in much greater use than now-a-days and that it was not then restricted to the rivers and backwaters; in a country such as South India, before the advent of railways and good roads, communications were so difficult except by sea, that localized terms were very apt to arise for specialized appliances and operations. But if double-canoes were once used for sea-work and coasting trips, they would be the chief means of general communication between the different sea-board countries, and this



intercommunication would have a unifying influence upon the names applied to such a boat in these various countries. The conclusion that double canoes or *sangadams* were a common form of coasting vessel in ancient days, receives curious confirmation in the *Periplus of the Erythraean sea*, where it is stated that in the harbours of the Coromandel coast are to be seen, together with others, "very large vessels, made of single logs (*monoxyla*) bound together, called *sangara*." From the context it would appear that these vessels traded between the timber and spice ports of Malabar and these east coast commercial centres and we are fully justified in believing with Schoff<sup>5</sup> that these were craft formed by the union of two large dugout canoes, connected by a deck-platform. Such boats would be specially useful in conveying timber and any goods of a bulky nature.

Scholars have hitherto derived *sangādam* and its variations from the Sanskrit *samghat*, to unite or join together or from *somghādam*, a raft. Why it should come from the Sanskrit is doubtful, for, I consider it most unlikely that the Dravidians should borrow the name for a canoe-form that must have been in use before the Aryan-speaking invaders influenced the coast life of southern India, whereas we see this word is in universal use among *all* the coast people of Dravidian speech. As Caldwell<sup>6</sup> has remarked there is probably as large a proportion of Dravidian word in Sanskrit as of British (*sic*) words in

5. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, translated by W. H. Schoff. London 1912.

6. Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*.

English. My own opinion is that the word is a compound, made up of some root meaning a union or joining together, and of another meaning canoe. Thus we have the well-known word *Sangam* to denote an association or union of persons for some definite object, e. g., The Tamil Sangam, while in Malabar *odam* is a usual term for a fishing canoe usually a dugout. Sangadam on this reading would mean a joined canoe, a remarkably close approximation to our term 'double-canoe'.

The *Periplus* affords evidence of this name being in use in South India in the first century A. D. and as a considerable number of Dravidian sea-terms are common to the Malay and Javanese languages, so, just as the Malay term for a large ship *kapal* is clearly the same as the Tamil *kappal*, meaning a vessel of the schooner or barque rig and build, we may reasonably conclude that the Javanese *djong* and the Malay *adjong* are variations of the Dravidian *jangālu* and *changalam*. In the first part of this paper I have tried to show that the large Chinese ships called by us junks, originated from double-canoes; this view therefore receives strong confirmation in the deduction now come to that *junk*, *djong*, *donga*, *jangalu*, *changadam*, and *sangara* are one and the same in derivation, and that originally the word stood for double-canoes still in use in the first century A. D. as coasting vessels in South India.

Whether the term *jangada* or *tangada* in common use on the Brazilian coast for the catamaran-like sea-rafts employed there very extensively for fishing and minor coasting purposes is

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derived from the language of the indigenous coast natives, or has been introduced into South America by the Portuguese, is another interesting question. The Portuguese in their sojourn in India undoubtedly became acquainted with the terms *jangalu*, *sangōle* and *sangālam* as meaning a double-canoe platformed over in raft-form. But they would also be familiar with the Tamil *kattumaram* (anglicised into catamaran) for a true sea-raft made by tying a number of logs together and approximating much more closely to the Brazilian sea raft than does the double-canoe. Hence unless *jangada* is an indigenous term in Brazil it is difficult to understand why the Portuguese should apply the Indian term for double-canoe to the Brazilian raft, rather than some rendering or corruption of the proper equivalent term, *kattumaram*. If the word is really indigenous to Brazil, its similarity to the group of Oriental words centring round *sangādam* would be truly remarkable and highly significant.

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#### IV. THE MALA ARAYANS OR KANIKKARS OF THE TRAVANCORE FORESTS.

BY RAO BAHADUR L. K. ANANTHA KRISHNA

IYER, B. A., L. T.

During my Ethnographic tour in Travancore in October 1920, I had the opportunity of seeing the Kanikkar, known also as Mala-Arayans, in Kulasekaram, near the Kodayar Dam. I availed myself of the opportunity of studying them first hand, and the following short account is the result of my investigations into their manners and customs.

Of the fourteen hill-tribes inhabiting the Travancore hills and forests and representing the aboriginal fragments of the State, the KANIKKAR forms an important division. In common with the other tribes of the Empire, they consider themselves to be the lords of the hills and are quite contented with where they are, which procure them all their necessities. They feel that their regions are now being encroached upon by men of higher culture from the plains, the contact with whom has been anything but satisfactory. They have a tradition that they are the descendents of two hill chieftains who fled from the Pandyan Kingdom at a remote period and settled down there. It is also said that one of the rulers of Travancore, afraid of some of the chieftains, fled to the hills, where they were protected by these hillmen. Hence they are called Mala-Arayans or hill chieftains. They are mostly found in Neduvangad, Nayyathumkara, and in Kulasekaram and the Hill ranges.

*Habitat*:— The Kanikkars like other denizens

of the forests, choose their habitations on the slopes of hills and glens, by the side of a stream or wherever the supply of water or food in the forests are abundant. Their habitations are simple, and afford them protection against rain and storm. Materials for the construction of their huts are found close at hand and with their simple bill-hooks, they cut down the bamboos with which they construct every portion of thier huts, and cover them with leaves and grass. Their domestic utensils are all of bamboos, a few earthen pots purchased in the markets of the plains, a bamboo or rattan baskets and mats of their own making and weaving : sometimes when elephants roam about their localities they take shelter with their families in what are called "tree-houses" of their own making.

*Marriage Customs:*— Each tribe among the jungle folk is an endogamous community, and does not form conjugal relations with the neighbouring community on the principle of social superiority. The months of Meenam ( March—April ), and Karkadakam ( July— August ), appear to be their seasons for marriage. Girls are married both before and after puberty to boys above sixteen. At the time of marriage the bride-groom makes presents of cloth to the bride's mother, in addition to the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or 7 and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  fanams to the bride's father. The bride's brother also gets a similar present. On the day of marriage, the bridegroom's party are treated to a feast in the hut of the bride. On the following morning, the bride and her party are also treated to a similar feast. The presentation of the wedding

dress forms an essential item in their matrimonial alliances. This completes the marriage ceremony, and henceforward they live in a separate hut of their own construction and maintain themselves by their own labour. Polygamy and widow-marriage are in vogue but polyandry is unknown. Among the members of the community, chastity is highly valued. Any man, either a tribe-fellow or an outsider, outraging the modesty of one of their women may even be put to death if detected. One or two such instances came to my notice. When a girl attains puberty she is lodged in a small separate hut put up for the occasion. On the eighth day she bathes, and the hut is burned. Food is served to her at a distance. Similar small edifices are also put up for women in confinement.

*Inheritance* :—The habits of these children of the forests are migratory, and they possess little or nothing in the shape of property and whatever they have is shared equally by their sons and nephews.

*Tribal Organisation* :—In every *pathi* or hamlet, they have a head-man or *Mäppan* who is either chosen by the people or appointed by the government. In the latter case, a stick given him by the government signifies the symbol of his authority. To settle all disputes and social offences among the members of the community, he convenes a meeting of the elderly members to discuss and decide the cases. Their decision is conclusive. Delinquents are punished generally with fine or

excommunication ; sometimes they are also thrashed.

*Religion* :—The Kanikkars, like other jungle folk, are pure animists and have a vague conception of their gods located in the different parts of the forests, and they offer sacrifices of plantain fruits, cocoanuts, and rice flour in the months of Kanni and Meenam. All kinds of calamities and illness are due to their provocation arising from the negligence of offerings in time. They worship the spirits of the dead. Owing to their contact with the low-caste men of the plains they are imbibing higher ideas of worship and now adore Aygaphan, and Bhagavati with offerings.

*Occupation* :—Owing to the unwise clearing of the forests and the consequent disappearance of wild animals, they have almost given up hunting and taken up agriculture which is migratory. A small plot is ploughed, seeds sown, and harvest is gathered. They do not add manure to the soil. They collect minor forest produce and help the government in the catching of elephants.

*Tree-climbing and Honey-gathering* :—Like other jungle tribes both in India, the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and elsewhere, they are remarkable for tree-climbing which is almost an instinct with them, probably acquired by heredity from their remote ancestors. Whatever the height or the girth of a tree, (in some cases trees attain a height of 100 or even 150 ft. and a girth of over 20 ft.) they climb up to the top like black monkeys. Honey-gathering is a favourite occupation with them and they do it mostly after night-fall with a torch under cover of darkness to avoid the sting of bees.

When trees are quite erect or bereft of branches the ascent is facilitated by means of small wooden pegs driven into it which serve as so many foot rests. The quantity of honey collected by the jungle tribes is very great and is the product of four distinct species of bees. The larger portion is collected by a middle-sized bee which makes its nest in the hollow stems of old trees. The nest is attacked fearlessly by the honey hunters, who are said to be proof against the stings by means of secret charms, but we can vouch for the fact that the charm necessary is a moderate amount of fortitude; for the tree bees do not attack in combined swarms as do the rock bees; and therefore the stings received are not numerous, neither is the pain caused so severe as to affect the thick skin of these hill-men. The only trouble in collecting this is the enlarging of the hole by which the bees enter the nests. The rock bee, the honey (*malantren*) of which is of a superior quality, is a large bee which builds its nests in the cavities of rocks and the edges of appalling precipices. It is a most fearful adversary, so much so that the native honey-collectors dare not attack it in the day-time. If they are attacked by an intruder, they begin a united persistent attack, and as their stings are severe, it is almost impossible to escape from their attack and it is most dangerous to go near them. The natives take the combs at night, and their mode of procedure evinces a cool daring which one would never expect in such a cowardly race. He makes a chain of rings made of bamboo or rattan, and this chain, over 100 feet in length,



is lowered from the top of a precipice until it reaches the point where the bees' nests are. This being done, a dark, windy night is chosen and the honey hunter either alone or accompanied by his brother-in-law or son, when it is pitch dark, descends along this loosely hanging ladder with a fire-brand, and keeping away the bees by means of the torch, he collects the honey and thus secures the prize. To look at one of these ladders as it hangs over the face of some fearful cliff and to imagine the scene is to make one's flesh creep. For this feat of daring he feels amply rewarded if a rupee is given. The bees appear to be stupid and sluggish on dark nights and hence the rationale of this method of procedure. There is another honey-producing bee found in the hills which makes its nest on the bare trunk of the bush. The comb is generally in the shape and size of a goose's egg; and so delicate and clean is the wax that the whole comb may be eaten just as it is found, wax and all. There is also a fourth kind of bee which builds its nests on the branches of trees, some of which are at great height. Acuteness of the senses, bodily toughness, defiant audacity to the point of contempt of death, together with an insinuating cunning and a great knowledge of nature are the characteristics of the wild tribes of Travancore, and the Kanikkars are no exception.

They do the ordinary cooly labour of cutting timber and of constructing rest-houses and get wages of from 5 annas to 7 annas per day. The wages they receive for the extraction of forest produce

depend on the quantity and quality of the produce they bring. Onan-presents in the shape of rice, cloths, coats, turbans, caps, ear-rings, rings, tobacco, opium, salt, oil and cocoanuts are freely distributed by the Forest Department. They are very busy in the collection of wax and honey in the months of March and April and cardamoms in the months of July and August.

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## V. FEMALE FOLK-RITES IN BENGAL :—

### THE SUVACHANI-VRATA PUJA.

BY PROBODH CHANDRA BAGCHI, M. A.

There is in Bengal a series of rites and ceremonies, some of which are essentially based on the Hindu canonical literature or the *Sāstras*. But there are others which can claim no such authority. Dr. Abanindranath Tagore in his Bengali book *Vāṅglār Vrata Kathā*, a nice and valuable digest of the local rites and ceremonies prevalent in Bengal, classifies these *Vratas* under three heads—*Sāstric Vrata*, *Nārī Vrata* and *Kumārī Vrata*. These however can be brought under two broad divisions—*Sāstric* and *Yōshit-prachalita*-i. e. those in vogue amongst the female folk.

(1) *SASTRIC VRATA*.—First the *samanyakāṇḍa* e. g. *uchamana*, *svastivachana* or uttering of *svasti* (benediction), *karmārambha* or the commencement of the work, *samkalpa*, placing of the *ghaṭa* or jar, purification with the five *gavyas* (viz., curd, milk, clarified butter, cow-dung, cow's urine), *sāntimantra*, *sāmānyārgha*, purification of the seat (*āsanāsuddhi*), purification of the *bhūta* (element), *Mātrikānyāsa* and offering of the special *argha*.

After this comes the offering of the *bhujji* (ingredients of a meal) and gifts to Brahmans. Next, the devotee listens to the *kathā* or story apparently meant to create an interest in the affair and to supply a supposed concrete illustration of its good results. The *Sāmānyakāṇḍa* and the *Vrata kathā* form the two main parts of these Paurāṇic *vratas*.

(2) *YOSHIT PRACHALITA*.—Female Folk-rites :

(i) *Nārī vratas*.—These are practised by grown-up ladies after marriage. An admixture of two elements — Sāstric and non-Sāstric, — which bears the stamp of a pre-Pauranic date, is perceptible in them. The pristine purity of the Vedic ceremonials is wanting and unimportant techniques and superficialities constitute the predominant factor. They have lost the depth and liveliness which are characteristic of the popular *vratas*,

(ii) *Kumārī vrata*.—These are practised by unmarried girls from 5 or 6 to 8 or 9 years of age. These are found in a comparatively pure state. Their performance consists in the representation of desires by drawings, digging miniature tanks, *etc.*, and the offering of flowers to these for the attainment of the desired end, and, last of all, in listening to the *kathā*, if there be any. The priest and his incantations have no place here.

The *Suvachanī puja* or *Suavachanī-vrata* can be classed under the *Yoshit prachalita* ones as it belongs to the special domain of the female-folk. It is however neither solely a *Nārīvrata* nor a *Kumārīvrata*, but differs from both in several respects. It deviates from the *Nārīvratas* in this that priests are not invited for the performance of any of the rites connected with it, whereas in all the *Nārīvratas* they are. It differs from the *Kumārīvratas* in this that the devotee is a married woman, and not a *Kumārī* (maiden). It is apparent therefore that the *Vrata* under consideration cannot be rightly classed under the two heads specified above. It can be conveniently

relegated to a third and somewhat different class. With this introduction we proceed to give a description of the specific ceremonies in connection with the performance of this *Vrata*.

The *Vrata* is performed on Sundays or Thursdays in the early hours of the morning. The female devotee takes the vow on the previous day praying to the goddess *Suvachanī* for the welfare of some of her particular relatives, e. g., for the recovery from some serious illness, for success in examination or sometimes in litigation, for the safe arrival of some relative from a distant country, for the fulfilment of some desire, and the like. On the previous evening she collects beetle-leaves beetlenuts and a quantity of mustard oil and prepares a red paste by mixing that oil with vermilion. She arranges all these on a *chāluni* or sieve along with a small piece of grinding stone which is generally kept in the house for this special purpose.

She rises up early the next morning and promptly invites some of her female friends of the neighbouring houses. A widow, however, is never invited. They assemble at the junction of two cross pathways inside the compound of the worshipper's house. The worshipper brings in the small piece of grind-stone and places it on the selected site. An outline figure of the goddess is drawn on the stone with the vermilion paste. On both sides of this stone two betel-leaves with two nuts are placed and dedicated to two evil spirits known as *ṭhuñṭo* and *ṭhuñṭi* and under a common name as *ṭhuñṭo pīrs*.

The devotee seats facing the east and invokes the goddess thus :

श्री रक्तपद्मचतुर्मुखी त्रिनयना चाम्बिकालंकृता ।  
 पीनतुंगकुचा वृकुलवचना चंचाचका परा ॥  
 ब्रह्मानन्दमयी कमण्डलुकरा समामोतिहस्ता श्रिया ।  
 ध्येया सा सुवचनी त्रिजगन्माया आपदोद्धारिणी ॥

This *dhyaṇa mantra* can be roughly rendered as follows :—

“Om ! Salutation to that Suvachanī, the honoured of the three worlds, the protectress from calamities, who has four faces as red as lotuses, the three-eyed, with breasts swollen up with milk, white-robed, seated on a swan, possessed of supreme bliss, with *kamandalu* in her hands, and with one hand raised in an attitude of compassion and another of chastisement.”

After the recital of this *dhyaṇa-mantra*, the goddess is worshipped with the offerings of flowers in accompaniment with the recitation of certain incantations. These incantations are addressed to the goddess under the names of *Vanadevi* or *Suvachanī-Durga*. The swan is also worshipped in due course.

The worshipper next recites a story relating to the goddess to all assembled. The ceremonies end with the distribution, among the invited ladies and girls, of betel-leaves, betel nuts and mustard oil that had been offered to the goddess.

The story in its main features runs as follows : In the kingdom of Kalinga there lived a poor Brahman widow with an only son. Her poverty did not enable her to feed her young son

properly. The young boy was accustomed to see every day the rich dishes enjoyed by his fellow-students. One day he also felt tempted to take meat and asked his mother to get it for him. She, however, told him that they were poor and that it was not possible for them to get it. The boy assured his mother that he would procure meat the next day. The next morning the boy caught a lame swan from a flock belonging to the king and killed it. The mother cooked the flesh and the boy ate it with much relish. In the evening the servants in charge of the flock began to search for the lost swan and found the feathers and other remnants of it by the side of the widow's house. They took the boy with them and he was thrown into jail. The mother wept day and night and turned almost mad with grief. At last some of her neighbours advised her to pray to the goddess Suvachanī. She then worshipped the goddess with due devotion on which the goddess, taking pity on her, appeared to the king of Kalinga in a dream and threatened him with disaster in case he failed to set the boy free the next morning and to give his daughter in marriage to the boy and the whole kingdom as a dowry. The king rose early next morning from his bed and carried out the divine command.

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NOTES : (1) The name of the goddess is variously known; we have got at least three forms of it. Some call her Suvachani (lit., possessed of good speech, from *Su* + *✓ Vach*). Some call her *Subhachanī* (सुभचनी which however may mean "possessed of good"). Others know her as *Subhachandī* (सुभचन्दी, the

benign *Chandika*). Of these three forms, we cannot definitely say which is the original one. In the *dhyāna-mantra* her important features appear to be—

(a) her motherhood;—she is conceived of as a mother (अम्बिका). This is further indicated by the expression पीनसुंग कुचा—“with breasts swollen up with milk”;

(b) her supreme bliss;—she is called ब्रह्मानन्दमयी—“full of supreme bliss”;—her compassionate and awe-inspiring nature (समाधोनिहृता शिवा),—her power of protection from calamities (आपदीद्वारिणी).

These characteristic features do not connect her with “good speech” (सुवचन) in any way. The specific functions also do not point to this. All these however are in favour of warranting the second name *Subhachari* which however is apparently a contraction of the name *Subha-Chandī*, for by itself the former is grammatically incorrect. The original form of the name, then, appears to have been the third one—*Subha-Chandī* (सुभचण्डी). Besides the characteristics noted above, we have seen that in the incantations the goddess sometimes passes under the name *Surachari-Durgā*. So her connection with the “benign *Chandika* (another name of the goddess *Durgā*) is not at all far-fetched.

(2) Though it is not yet time to speak anything about the origin of these female-folk rites of Bengal (as that cannot be done unless one examines all of such prevalent folk-rites), it would not be too much to say that these are the creations of a



tendency which wanted to popularise the higher forms of worship which could not be easily grasped by the masses. In the Purānic literature that tendency is quite discernible, but in these folk-rites it proceeds a step further and sometimes it becomes impossible to discover the original stratum on which the whole fabric is built. As far as this particular *Vrata* is concerned, it appears to us that it is the worship of one of the several popularised aspects of the goddess *Chandī* (*Durga*). *Subha-Chandī* is not a solitary one but we have got other similar ones round the goddess *Chandīka* (*Kulor-Chandī*, etc. \*).

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\* This paper was read at the 2nd Sess Conference held at Calcutta in January, 1

## VI. ASTRONOMY OF THE MUNDAS AND THEIR STAR MYTHS. \*

BY MANINDRA BHUSAN BHADURI, B. A., B. L.

"From savagery up to civilisation, Akkadian, Greek, or English, there may be traced in the mythology of the stars a course of thought, changed, indeed, in application, yet never broken in its evident connection from first to last. The savage sees individual stars as animate beings, or combines star groups into living celestial creatures, or limbs of them, or objects connected with them; while at the other extremity of the scale of civilisation the modern astronomer keeps up just such ancient fancies, turning them to account in useful survival, as a means of mapping out the celestial globe."

The above hypothesis of Mr. Tylor, the great English anthropologist, may be aptly illustrated by an examination of the astronomical myths and legends of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, one of the aboriginal tribes in India, least altered by modern civilisation, who retain many of the beliefs of savages, side by side with the star-myths of the civilised races, in which the old vein of savage beliefs is very near the surface.

An exact knowledge of the stars has always been useful, if not essential, to savages. The first moment in astronomical science arrives when the

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\* This paper was read at the Second Session of the Oriental Conference held at Calcutta in January, 1922.

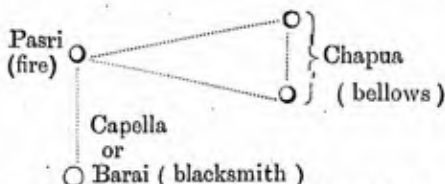
child mind of savage man looks at the stars with wondering curiosity. He next makes his first rough practical observations of the movements of the prominent heavenly bodies and formulates explanations for himself. So, when in a remote antiquity, the Mundas first took to agriculture and ploughing, they looked for its counterparts in the heavens, as his philosophy wanted to explain all phenomena on the supposition that the laws of the animate nature he observes are working everywhere.

The Sword and Belt of Orion, they imagined from their close likeness, to the plough and ploughshare ( HAR-JUAIT ) which their Sing-Bonga ( God ) first shaped in the heavens, and taught people on earth the uses of it. They say that the Sing-Bonga was making the plough and the ploughshares with a chisel and a hammer, and when he had just finished it, he observed a dove ( Panrki ) hatching its eggs at a little distance, and desiring to bag the game, threw the hammer at it, but he missed his mark and the hammer went over the Panrki's head and hung on a tree where it is seen to this day. The hammer of Sing-Bonga is their *Moogaru-ipil* ( lit., hammer-star ) which corresponds to the Pleiades, which somewhat resembles a cudgel or hammer. The Aldebaran is their *Panrki* and the other stars of the Hyades are the eggs of the *Panrki*. It is curious to note that even a Munda boy will unmistakeably point out these star groups.

The Hyades were associated by the ancients with the ushering in of the rainy season and the

brightest in the group, Aldebaran, is called "the Bright one of the Rainy ones." In Greek legends the five daughters of Atlas were made responsible for the setting in of bad weather. Perhaps their "watery" or weeping reputation was due to the legend that they died through grief at the death of their brother Hyas from the attack of a wild boar. Among the Mundas, also, the *Panrki* is associated with the approach of the wet season. Being close observers of nature by necessity, they also ascertain the advent of the months and seasons by observations of other natural phenomena. So, when the *Eotrong* (Hindi, *kari*) ripens, it is Jete Chandu ) lit, hottest month ) and the wet season is near at hand. The end of Jete Chandu is signified by the blossoming of the Jilhur tree, and the frequency of the dust storms and the smoky appearance of the atmosphere, when they say that "Rohin" meaning Aldebaran has come, and all early sowing of paddy must be completed. The "Rohin" is evidently a corruption of the Hindu "Rohini" and has been borrowed from the Hindus. The Sun enters Rohini or Aldebaran ( which forms part of the Taurus constellation ) about the 26th of May.

The other star-groups which the Mundas are familiar with are the Capella and the Kids in the constellation of Auriga. Cappella is very appropriately the *Barai* ( the celestial blacksmith ) and the Kids (shaped like an isosceles triangle) are the bellows and the charcoal fire as the following figure will show :—



The Barai sits near the fire (Pasri-ipil) which is kindled by air coming from the bellows (Chapua-ipil). The two stars at the base of the triangle are the Chapua-ipils and the star at the vertex is the Pasri-ipil or charcoal fire. This heavenly Barai (black-smith,) at the direction of the Sing Bonga, taught people to make implements of iron, according to the Mundas. The bright and the scintillating Capella is a fitting representation of the Barai at his work. As the Barai is an indispensable member in the village organisation of the Mundas, (every village having its own Barai even now), his heavenly counterpart was sought for, and found, in the bright Capella—"Chief of famed Auriga, dauntless charioteer"—which heralds the sun's approach on a June morning,—and which being situated very near to the central line of the Milky way, naturally attracted the attention of the Mundas.

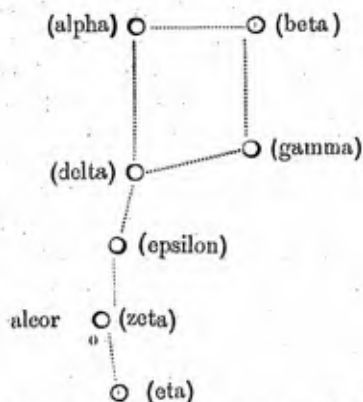
This Capella is the *Brahma-hridaya* of Hindu mythology. The name signifies "the heart of Brahma the Creator". How this name was arrived at is yet to be found out.

The next star group known to the Mundas is the Great Bear. They call it the *Parkom Kumru-ipil* (lit., Bedstead-thief-star). By how many names is this famous group known? The Greeks called it by two names, the Great Bear or the Wain,

According to them, the Great Bear keeps watch on the hunter Orion for fear of a sudden attack. To the Americans it is the "Dipper," a familiar utensil, the three curving stars which form the tail of the Bear corresponding to the handle of the Dipper. According to the Hindus it is the Sapta Rikha or Saptarishi—the seven Rishis or Sages. It is also called the Chitra-Sikhandi ( i. e. bright like a peacock's tail ) as the following Sanskrit verse will show :—

*Marichirangirā atrih pulastya pulaha kratuh  
Vasisthashcheti saptaite jñeishchitrasikhandinah.*

According to the Mundas, their Sing-Bonga retired to rest at night in the north of the heavens and slept on a bedstead (*parkom*). The legs of this Parkom are the four stars of the Great Bear forming a quadrilateral—the a, b, d, g of the Ursa Majoris. While Sing Bonga was asleep, three thieves ( *kumru* ) came to steal the *parkom* and one of the thieves actually caught hold of one of its legs and pulled and displaced it. The displaced position of the star Delta Ursa Majoris is explained in this way. Meanwhile the guard of the Sing-Bonga ( the Alcor near Zeta Ursa Majoris which is visible with difficulty ), who was in hiding and unseen by the thieves suddenly raised a hue and cry, and the thieves ran away. The curving stars Epsilon, Zeta, and Eta, are the three thieves shown as running away. The accompanying diagram will show how appropriate and amusing the story is ; and the existence of a celestial *parkom* for the Sing Bonga is nothing strange when we have a "Lady in the chair" in Cassiopeia—



The Alcor is the famous "Arundhati" star of Hindu mythology the wife of Rishi Basistha ( Zeta Ursa Majoris ), represented as sitting at his feet. It is said that a man whose death is near at hand cannot see the star "Arundhati".

The next prominent figure familiar to the Mundas is the Milky Way. How many stories have sprung up regarding this still mysterious Milky Way ! Dr. Fison, in his *Recent Advances in Astronomy* says of this mighty star group,—

"Among the many and profound problems suggested to the mind by the contemplation of the heavens upon a clear, moonless night, there is no one more mysterious, and few have proved more baffling, than that presented by the dimly luminous arch of the Milky Way. Various regarded in classical mythology as the milk that flowed from the sacred breast of Juno ; as the last vestige of the ruin that overwhelmed Phaeton in his bold but fatal attempt to direct the fiery steeds of the sun's chariot ; and

as the road along which the gods repaired to the High Olympus; the fair shimmer of the Milky Way has through succeeding ages been associated with poetic fancy and romantic imagination. In modern German the popular term "Jacobstrasse" recalls not unfitly the sublime visions of the Patriarch of Israel; while to the Indian of North America the Milky Way is still the path of the departed souls, and the brighter stars that stud its stream are the camp fires that mark the halting places of his fathers upon their weary march".

The old English people used to call it the Watling street. The Hindus consider it to be the Svârganga or the Celestial Ganges in which the nectar of life flows.

No wonder that the Mundas call the famous galaxy by the name of 'Gaihora' i. e. the path of the cows. Their Sing Bonga is said to lead his cows along this path everyday and the nebulous appearance of the path is due to the dust raised by the herd of cattle marching along the path.

According to the Mundas, who divide the year into three seasons, the *Jete Sa* (lit. the hot weather), the *Jargi da* (the rainy season), and the *Rabang Sa* (the cold season),—the "Gaihora" is said to reign during the period of *Jargi da*; and the dust raised by the cows is said to send down rains on earth. The other two monitors of the two seasons *Rabang Sa* and *Jete Sa* are the *Har-Juait ipil* and the *Par-kom-Kumru ipil*, respectively.

The other stars known to the Mundas, so far as I have been able to ascertain till now, are the *Ango ipil*, the *Jilu-ipil*, and the *Kumru-har-ipil*; the latter



is also called the "Bhurka". It is the Venus. The word Bhurka is probably a corruption of the Hindi word Bhṛigu which is a synonym for Shukra or Venus.

I conclude this short note by relating an interesting story among the Mundas by which they explain why no stars are visible during the day, and why the moon appears to be waxing and waning. The story runs as follows :—

The Sun and the Moon were two sisters. The stars were their children. The children of the Sun were very bright and hot like the Sun, while the children of the Moon were less bright and cooler. On account of the scorching rays of the Sun and her children, nothing would grow on earth. So the Moon, in order to make the earth fit for the existence of living beings bethought of a device. One night she lit a fire and caught hold of the children of the Sun, and burnt them in the fire and made a good meal of them. She mischievously took a portion of it to the Sun and said to her, "Sister, here are some fine sweet potatoes (*sagarkand*) which I have burnt; they are very sweet and I have tasted some, here I have brought some for you". So saying, she handed over to the Sun the burnt bodies of her own children which the Sun, not knowing their fate, unwittingly ate them up, taking them to be burnt *sagarkand*. When the day broke, the Moon, for fear of her sister's revenge hid her own children. After some time, when the children of the sun and the moon did not turn up and shine as before, the sun enquired of the Moon, saying "Sister, why are our children late in coming?" The Moon gave an

evasive reply whereupon she grew suspicious and made a search for her children, but found no trace of them. At last the Moon confessed her guilt. This so much enraged the Sun that she caught hold of a sword and chased her sister, overtook and cut her in two. The Moon however fled away with her segmented bodies.

When the Sun retired in the evening, the Moon brought out her own children ( the stars now seen at night ) and they began to play about their mother. At dawn the Moon hid all her children for fear of the Sun. To this day, the Moon daily hides her children at dawn, so that, when the Sun comes at day-break, the children of the Moon are no longer visible in the heavens and the Sun shines alone, bereft of her dear children. The segmented appearance of the Moon is due to the cut inflicted by the Sun; and though the wound heals up at times it has been so ordained by Sing Bonga that the wound reopens periodically, so that people on earth might witness the punishment of the Moon for her treachery. This is why the Sun shines alone, and no stars are visible in the day time and the Moon waxes and wanes periodically; and thus has existence been made possible on earth.

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## VII. ETHNOGRAPHY IN OLD OFFICIAL RECORDS.\*

BY THE EDITOR.

In my presidential address to the Anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress at its last year's sessions, I regretted the absence of any encouragement from the Government of India and from most Indian Universities of Anthropological science in this country. And during the year that has since passed by, Anthropology, it is to be regretted has remained in the same cold shade of official indifference and neglect as before. A curious instance of such neglect of the claims of Anthropology will be found in the revised regulations respecting the examination of candidates for the Indian Civil Service to be held in India in August 1922, as published in the Government of India Notification No. 4984 A ( Home Department ), bearing date the 7th November, 1921. Whereas Anthropology in its various branches of Physical Anthropology, Prehistoric Anthropology and Technology, and Social Anthropology are included among the subjects prescribed for the Indian and other Civil Service competitive examinations to be held in London in 1922, Anthropology in every one of its branches—even Indian Ethnology—is severely excluded from the list of subjects prescribed for the Indian Civil Service competitive examination to be held in India in August this year. And yet in no

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\* This paper was read at the ninth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress ( Anthropological Section ) held in February, 1922.

country is a knowledge of Anthropology in its administrators more useful and conducive to good Government than in this land of diverse races differing widely from one another in manners and customs, languages and creeds. Though we may understand the indifference of the educated public in India to the science of Anthropology which is a new and unfamiliar subject of study, the absence of any encouragement from the Government of India to the pursuit of the science is as inexplicable as it is regrettable. In the present paper I shall refer to another instance of neglect—obviously unintentional—by Government of opportunities for advancing ethnographical knowledge and promoting ethnographical research.

For some time past the Government of India appear to have realized the importance of collecting and publishing such old despatches, reports, and correspondence as have any bearing on the history of the country; and an Indian Historical Records Commission has been appointed to suggest ways and means to carry out the work. We cannot be too grateful to the Government of India for the active interest they are taking in the matter.

It appears to me, however, that the work of this commission might be made still more useful by extending the scope of their activities beyond matters of historical interest, so as to include also those of ethnographical interest. In fact, a more extended signification of the term 'historical' would appear to include matters of ethnographical interest as well, as these matters appertain to the social history of the Indian people. The need for studying

the Government archives for purposes of ethnographical study is not perhaps so obvious to the general public as the need for studying them for purposes of historical investigation, in its popular and restricted sense.

Any one who has had opportunities of studying old and decaying official records in Government Record-rooms cannot fail to be forcibly impressed with the necessity of rescuing from neglect and impending decay, the many interesting scraps of ethnographical information contained in official despatches, reports, and other papers and bringing them within the reach of the student.

In the present paper I shall give some specimens of the interesting ethnographic material buried in the moth-eaten pages of official papers, some of which I had an opportunity of studying with the kind permission of the Commissioner of the Chota Nagpur Division.

The specimens that I shall cite before you relate to customs regarding the *meriah* human sacrifice of the Khonds of what are now the Khondmals in Orissa.

In the early years of British rule in India, the wild hilly tract now known as the Khondmals or the land of the Khonds which lies immediately to the north of the Madras Presidency formed part of the Baud State now in Orissa. Until 1845, however, the Baud State instead of being included within the Orissa Feudatory States was incorporated with the South Western Frontier Agency under the control of the Governor General's Agent stationed at Ranchi, or Kishenpur as it was then called.

Vague reports of 'meriahs' or prospective victims carried off from the adjoining plains villages and confined by the Khonds of the Khondmals in their hilly fastnesses and jungle homes in the Baud State for purposes of human sacrifice began slowly to reach the ears of the officers of the South Western Frontier Agency as also the British officers superintending the affairs of the neighbouring Orissa Tributary Mahals since about the year 1837. No heed was paid by the Khonds to orders prohibiting such sacrifices issued by the Raja of Baud at the instance of these British Officers. It was soon discovered that the Raja had no real authority in the Khondmals where the tribal chiefs or Khond 'Maliks' were the real rulers. The Governor General's Agent therefore adopted such measures as he could to stop the frightful practice of 'meriah' sacrifices. Although the measures then adopted did not at first meet with a full measure of success, the direct evidence of the frightful custom collected by the Governor General's Agent and still preserved in old official records of those days gives a vivid picture of the horrid practice.

As a result of the reports of the Governor General's Agent for the South Western Frontier Agency and the officers in charge of the Cuttuck Tributary Mahals, the Baud State was in 1845 placed under a special officer with the designation of "Agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices", and ten years later the Khondān was separated from the state of Baud and placed directly under the British Government as the Khondmals Subdivision.

of the District of Angul. These later events including the military operations undertaken to overawe the Khonds into submission, do not, however, concern us here ; I shall only place before you extracts from two reports of the Governor General's Agent ( South Western Frontier Agency ) in the year 1844 on 'meriah' sacrifices as then practised in what are now the Khondmals. These are among the earliest accounts we possess of this horrible practice among the Orissa Khonds and necessarily less full than the later accounts. But these accounts reveal one or two features of the practice which do not appear to have been brought out in the published reports.

In the first letter, dated the 19th January, 1844, addressed to A. Turnbull, Esq., Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Lt. Col. J. R. Ousley, then Governor General's Agent for the South Western Frontier Agency, reports some specific cases of boys kidnapped and kept confined by the Khonds for being sacrificed as *meriahs* whom he had succeeded in rescuing. In that letter, Lt. Col. Ousley reports that "there may be from 40 to 50,000 men capable of bearing arms who are addicted to these practices", and says that "if the Parab or feast of Pous comes round again without some measures being taken, I much fear that many thousands will be sacrificed". In his second letter to the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 9th March 1844, the same officer reports the recovery of certain Meriahs ( persons kidnapped for sacrifice ) and forwards translations of depositions recorded by him of some of these recovered Meriahs. These deposi-

tions are of special interest to the ethnologist. From these we learn, among other things, that these poor Meriahs were invariably sacrificed "before they attained maturity or indeed at the age of 16 or 17 or younger", and that "in the selection from several of the Meriahs for sacrifice, among a number of flags fastened to bamboos, one was marked with a red cloth. On a meriah touching this one, he or she, was accepted and sacrificed to the *Dharanee* (Earth goddess, otherwise called *Tari Pennu*) but the rest were simply killed". We further learn that though women were permitted to attend a 'meriah' sacrifice, and actually to assist in it by dancing and playing on musical instruments, they were not allowed to pollute the "meriah" by their touch. Another important and, I believe, new ethnographical information which we gather from these depositions is that such Khonds as could not procure "meriahs" had to give up their old parents to be sacrificed. I shall now crave your indulgence to place before you extracts from those depositions which, as you will see, are of great ethnographical interest. These relate to two rescued young 'meriah' boys—one a Ganda by birth named Ramkishen and another a Goala by birth named Oachbo. (The Gandas, I may note, are a servile and impure caste who are classed with the Pans and the Doms in the Orissa state). These depositions further correct and supplement the published accounts which represent persons of the Pan tribe as the agents mostly or wholly employed to purchase human victims for the sacrifice.

(1) Deposition of *Ramkishen*, son of *Boolan*, caste Ganda, of Mouzah Turbeh in the Sonpur



State, age about 12 or 14. Maker of cloth.

18th January 1844, camp Chunderpur.

Q. Where have you come from ?

A. From Gunglookha, a village in Baghdongsee of Boad. I was in Kalie Sa Khond's house. I have come by your order.

Q. How did you go from Surhat to Kali Sa's ?

A. Asil, my brother-in-law, took me under pretence of going to his house to Gunglorkha and sold me to Kalie Sa for what sum I don't know, and I have remained with Kalie Sa ever since. Those persons sold me—Asil of Surha, Chakrod and Balon in Boad.

Q. Where are these three persons now ?

A. Chukroo is dead. Bulan and Asil I do not know where they now reside. When the Raja of Boad took me from Kalie Sa's, he sent [me] to you ; ( again says, ) Mukunda Malikh's man went to get me from Kalie Sa Khond. Kalie Sa said, "When I get two boys for this one I will give him up". Then Mokunda Malik gave Chukroo's son (Chukroo who sold me) in exchange. Then only he let me come.

Q. Is Chukroo's son there now ?

A. Where I was, Chukroo's son is.

Q. How do they "meria" people ?

A. ( Lying down on his face and stomach ), they make a "meria" lie down on his belly ; and tie split bamboos across his neck behind and before, and across the [ chest and ] back. The back and ribs, the anus and legs, have all the flesh cut off in small pieces ; and they bury the bits before a Deota named "*Dhurnee*," and when

the body was fixed to the ground, they bury it. The day I came away, 4 boys and 2 girls were sacrificed.

Q. Of what place were these six persons resident ?

A. I don't know. I heard of Goomsur. That very day the Pooja to the Deota took place and the custom is [that] a flag on a bamboo is put up and marked by a red piece of cloth. Whatever "meria" touches the flag so marked is selected to be sacrificed ; and those who don't touch it escape as they assert the "Deota" was not pleased with them. But from fear of the Government they kill them also, and when news came of a Saheb coming from Cuttack, a girl who was kept as a "meria" was buried up to her neck in the earth. When she said, "On the Saheb's coming, I shall cry and make a noise ; so let me go," they at once killed her.

Q. Were you aware for what purpose you were kept as a Meria ?

A. I knew. Those people made me work. When I was lazy, they used to frighten me and say that we will have you sacrificed ; but as I knew not the road I could not run away.

Q. Do the Khonds obey the orders of the Boad Raja ?

A. The Raja has no authority whatever and I never heard of the Raja. They do not even pay *malgoozary* (rent). Only Mokoondo Malick's people go. His orders are obeyed. I never all the time I was there heard of Piadah or Burkundaz going there.

Q. What occupation do the Khonds follow where you were ?

A. They are cultivators and produce both crops—Khurreef and Rubbee. When any Saheb's coming that way is heard of, they say "Now we shall all be destroyed", and go off to the hills and jungles, and arrange among themselves to fight for their country. But some say they dreaded elephants, others horses ; and on this account they invariably run oposite into the jungle where they say they can fight comfortably and remain in the Hills on this account. *Those who cannot procure "merias" give up their old and helpless fathers and mothers to be sacrificed.*

Q. Did you ever witness an instance of old people—their own fathers and mothers—sacrificed ?

A. I saw two cases in which an old man and an old woman were sacrificed as "merias".

Q. Do you know that there are other 'merias' where you came from or near ?

A. Yes. Rukher Khond has two 'merias' at Boponga, one named Topa and one Burgee and a girl named Sytee. Sohla Khond of Dumtoora has two,—one named Mangra and the other Ghumee. Purtoo Khond of Bakulmiree has one named Dooa. More I don't know.

Q. Do they feed you properly ?

A. Yes. At first they did ; when they heard the Saheb was coming, gave less. I was not aware that you had sent for me.

Q. Do they only sacrifice at particular feasts or festivals or at any period they have occasion in the year ?

- A. All the year they do not; only in Pous,—in no other month.
- Q. When the Pooja or sacrifice in Poos takes place, do all the villagers assemble of one village or does the Pooja take place in each man's house who has a "meria"?
- A. One "meria" for each village and no more. All "merias" go to see the sacrifice.
- Q. Do not the "merias" fear?
- A. Yes, but what can they do?
- Q. What sized bamboos are they that are used to squeeze the "merias" to the ground?
- A. About 5 cubits long and very thick, cut ( or split ) up to within a cubit. The neck is inserted into the split.
- Q. If one has several, does he kill all his "merias" at once?
- A. Only one at a time: When the Deota want one, then two or three years after they sacrifice.
- Q. Explain more at length how they sacrifice and squeeze with the bamboo.
- A. (Lying on the ground with bamboo on his neck—) This is the way. The thick bamboo of five hands long is split up all but a little and the neck placed between the parts. The two ends are held down and so also is the wrist by another bamboo held by men. Each leg is divided into three parts; one part is the foot, [ a second part is ] the leg up to under the knee; the knee joint another and the thigh close up to the insertion at the hip and the anus is also cut into three bits each in the same way. The flesh of the back is cut off and the dead body buried.

- Q. Do women attend and assist in these sacrifices?  
 A. Yes; they "nauch" and dance, play on their instruments, but do not touch the "meria".  
 Q. Do the Khonds pay for permission for the toleration of these Poojas?  
 A. I do not know.  
 Q. Does Mokundo Malik sacrifice or attend?  
 A. No; he does not that I know of. The "Doms" and low castes go and look on. His music also goes; the Doms play.  
 Q. What is the object of the sacrifice?  
 A. I don't know.  
 Q. Has any order ever been received preventing this rite?  
 A. No—never. No prohibition has yet been received.

(Signed) × Ram Kishen.

Sd: J. R. Ouseley,

Agent, Govr. Gl.

*The 9th March 1844.*—Reporting the release of another "Meria" Ochbo from the Khondhan in Boad.

(2) Deposition of *Gobind Gwalla*, dated 28th December 1843, before Lt. Col. J. R. Ouseley, Agent G. G., S. W. F.

*Gobind Gwalla*, son of Chamra, age 50, of Deogaon Dhaman in Sambalpoor.

Q. What is your complaint?

A. Ochbo my nephew, age 7 years, had gone to tend cattle 6 years ago. Neela, a Bhooee Gour of Rissubund in Sonpur, which is on the boundary of Boad took Ochbo away and sold him to Pantoo Malik in *Khondhan* and he is breeding him up to

be sacrificed ; unless Rutoo Mallik orders ( that is Nubghun, his son Rutoo having died ) he will not be recovered ; on this account I am come.

Q. For what god is your nephew now detained ?

A. I do not know what "Deota," but it is the custom there to get hold of children and when fat and older, they sacrifice them by placing them in split bamboos and killing them. They are squeezed to the ground and all the villagers with axes, etc., cut off the flesh, dancing and jumping about, whilst the victim is alive and quivering ; and for this my nephew is kept.

Q. Can you shew where Ochbo is ?

A. I cannot tell where he is, but if Nabghan is ordered he can shew him.

Q. Did you ever see the sacrifice performed as you describe, or only heard of it ?

A. In that country all do it. Every one knows it.

Q. What god has such sacrifices ?

A. In the fields where turmeric is grown they perform these sacrifices, and the Khonds sacrifice to them and other gods also. All round the turmeric fields they bury the flesh of men. Neela Bhooee is dead. His children are alive.

*Order.*—

Dulpat Rai Karpardaz of Sonpur shall cause Nabghan Mallik's attendance or he shall be answerable.

After this Gobindo said that Pitambar Kewat was present when Ochbo was sold. Neela Bhooee gave him a *Hanslee* of silver and 5 rupees not to speak about it.

*Order* :— Pitamber Kewat also be sent for ; 2 sowars to go and bring in the boy with Gobindo.

*2nd January, 1844.*

(3) *Nubghun Mallik*, son of Rutoo Mallik, Khond Zemindar, age 30, of Risseebund in Sonpoor.

Q. Gobind complained that your father Ruttoo Mallik agreed to return the boy Ochbo *etc.* Where is he ?

A. When Prithee sing was alive the Raja ordered by Chamroo Gorowtea to Rutoo to this effect that as Neela Bhooee had sold Ochbo he was to cause his restoration. Rutoo Malik replied he knew nothing about it and that the Khondhan was not in his estate. Then Rutoo made over Neeloo Bhooee's family to Gobinda and said "You take these to Neeloo. Bhooee and say you keep them and restore my boy Ochbo". Then the prosecutors went away with them and at some place released them. I don't know where. They then came back to me and are with me. I do not know where Ochbo is. The woman knows ; send for her. She is present.

Q. Into what country did they take Ochbo ?

A. Into Boad, to mouzah Bomar.

Q. Do you know of any "merias" that may be with any of your kindred ?

A. Yes, in Khondhan there may be ; but I don't go there.

*2nd January, 1844.*

(4) Deposition of *Loochua*, widow of *Neeloo Bhooee* of Risseebuud.

Q. To whom did your husband Neeloo sell Ochbo, and where is he ?

A. I can shew the village where he was sold, but don't know to whom or where the boy now is.

Q. When Neeloo sold the boy where were you?

A. At Kanapara about 4 or 5 *coss* from Neeloo's house.

Q. Why did you live separate from your husband?

A. My younger sister became his wife also; so he sent me away to live separately.

Q. Nubghun Malik says you can tell all about Ochbo. Tell where he is.

A. I cannot tell more than the name of the village which is Gochapara in Boad, and Gobindo Kewat of Gochapara and Sahdeo of Gochapara, now of Damorojin in Khondhan, lived with Neeloo. All three sold plaintiff's nephew. More I know not.

Q. Why did your husband sell Ochbo?

A. I don't know. I was separate for 2 years before. To provide for himself probably.

Q. For how much did he sell him?

A. I don't know.

Q. How far off is the village where he was sold?

A. Six *coss* from Sonpoor.

*Order.*

2 Sowars with a Hookumnamah, 2 Burkundazes of the Raja's and the Plaintiff with the woman and Nubghun's people shall be sent to bring Gobindo, Sahdeo and the man who brought him and the boy;—after which fit orders will be given.

(Sd) J. R. O.

2nd January, 1844.

*27th February 1844.*

(5) Deposition of Ochbo "*Meria*", age about 12 or 13.

Q. Why did you go into the Khondhan? Tell what you recollect.



A. I was at Phoolohube in Sonepoor. One evening—I can't say how long ago—I was playing with children, a woman came and inveigled me and said, "Come with me, I will feed and clothe you nicely". So I went to her house in another village. That day the woman and Neeloo Bhoose her husband went off at night to a Hill with me; a river was below, a fisherman was fishing. The fisherman gave the woman a large fish and told us to eat it. Then they took me into the Khondhan and at Patna Ghoopa at Tukoo Sah Khond's they left me. I don't know on what agreement I remained with him. He gave me Khandvols and a jungle fruit without salt to eat, and I used to look after his plough and cattle. The man who took me there I never saw again.

Q. How have you come in now?

A. Tukoo Sah's two sons took me to "Baro Dola" to Neemoo Malik ( Nubghun Malik's brother ) and said that my uncle had gone to the Sahib ( Agent, Governor General ), that Sowars had been sent for him and that he was to go,—Gobindo—my uncle. So I went with Neemoo Malik to the Sowars.

Q. Do you know any thing about your being a "Meria"?

A. When the Sowars went in *Pous* lately ( this year ) and one *coss* off from where I was, a "meria" was sacrificed. I don't know the name of the "meria". I went to see the sight. All went.

Q. How was it done ?

A. I saw that split bamboos were placed across the neck and waist and he was placed on his belly. All the people came with "Tangees" ( axes ) and cut off the flesh. When all the flesh was gone, the bones and body were buried in the earth, and music was playing.

Q. Did you ever see another ?

A. No. Only this one.

Q. Are there any more boys for "Meria" there ?

A. Yes, in the village I was in there was another boy "meria" less ( younger ) than me, but he was there before me. I don't know where he was from or his name. I saw no other "merias".

Q. Do they cut off the legs and arms of the "merias" ?

A. Yes, both hands at the wrist. And they cut off all the flesh up to the elbow, and also cut off the legs below the knee, and cut off all the flesh above the thighs. *The head, the buttocks and the breasts they do not cut.* They say, "The head and milk ( breasts ) are the Raja's, the buttocks the Rancee's". Just before the "Poornmashee" of Pous when the Khonds heard of the Sowars coming, some said, "Let us be off. Elephants, horses etc., will come, take all our fowls, eggs and other things". Some said, "The Khonds are numerous ; we will stop the road".

Q. Where you were, did they obey the Boad Raja ?

A. The Raja's men go there and the Khonds pay *malgoozaree* (rent).

Q. Who went and made you over to the Sowars ?

A. Tukoo Sah's two sons ( one called Gujra, and

I forget the other's name) went with me to Neemoo Mallik's.

Q. How far off was the Ganda "meria", Ram Kishen, from you ?

A. I don't know.

Q. Did you hear that people were on the look-out to get and release "Merias" ?

A. Yes. I heard ; but all were secreted and not one was given to the Saheb.

Q. What is the name of the man who has the other 'Meria' ?

A. Phulka Khond is his name.

Q. Do you know the road you were taken by the woman and the Kewat ?

A. No. I know the way I came back.

Q. Do you recognize Gobindo ?

A. Yes. He is my uncle.

( Sd ) × OCHBO.

The final orders in the case of Ochbo was as follows :—

Proceeding, 27th February 1844, before Lieutenant Coll. J. R. Ouseley, Agent Govr. Genl. and Commissioner South-west Frontier in the case of Ochbo Meria.

Raja Pitamber Deo of Boad confirms the statement of Mankhan in regard to Gobindo Kewat and Sibdeo. The Ranee of Sonpoor and her Karpardaz Dulput Rai say the same in regard to sending Ochbo and add that they will send Loochua woman if required. The lad Ochbo, aged about 13, says he is the nephew of Gobindo, that Tukoo Sah Khond of Tuppa Gopahad kept him for a

"meria", and also another boy (no name) is with Phulka Khond in the same village kept for sacrificing. This should be made known to the Superintendent of Tributary Mehals, Cuttuck. 5 Rs. cash and 5 Rs. worth of cloth ordered for the "meria" Ochbo who is to go to his home with his uncle. The Raja of Sumbalpoor will be called on to look well after the boy, that no one should take him away. A copy of this to go to the Cuttack Commissioner and Translation to Government.

Translated by me. (Sd) J. R. OUSELEY,

*Leint. Coll.,*

*Agent Gov. Genl.*

Any comments of mine on the ethnographical value of these depositions are superfluous.

Time will not permit me to place before you extracts from other official reports that I have come across regarding other interesting customs now more or less obsolete, such as a curious custom of trial by ordeal known as 'Gore-garee' or foot-burying ordeal reported by the same officer Col. J. R. Ouseley in a letter dated the 22nd April, 1845, as then prevalent in Chota-Nagpur, and another custom known as 'Anushthan' or getting rid of an enemy or bringing misfortune or sterility on him through the instrumentality of *Pujahs* performed for the purpose by Brāhmans, which is reported by the same officer in his letter dated the 2nd March, 1843, as being then prevalent in the district of Sambalpur.

I venture to say that the specimens that I have placed before you are sufficient indications of the wealth of ethnographic material that lie buried in

the archives of the Government Record-rooms. And I would appeal to Government with all the emphasis I can command, to make arrangements for rescuing these valuable materials from decay and disappearance. Though in respect of many of these obsolete customs themselves their decay and disappearance is indeed to be rejoiced at, the decay and disappearance of the old papers recording those customs is, however, to be greatly deplored—all the more so because of the disappearance of the customs they record.\*

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\* As these pages were passing through the press, we were gratified to note that in the regulations for the examination of the Indian Civil Service to be held in India in 1923, published under India Government Notification No. F 531—II, dated, Simla, the 28th June, 1922, *Physical Anthropology* and *Social Anthropology* have now been added to the list of optional subjects for the examination.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.  
I. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE  
ANDAMANESE.

BY SIR EDWARD GAIT, K.C. S.I., C. I. E.,  
PH. D., I. C. S. ( Retd )

[ On April 10th, Col. Douglas, C. S. I., C. I. E., read a paper before the Victoria League on *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands*, of which he was Chief Commissioner for seven years. Sir Edward Gait, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., Ph. D., I. C. S. ( ret. ) who was in the chair, made the following observations in the course of his address at the end of the proceedings :— ]

I should like to mention a few conclusions of general interest which are suggested by a study of the Andamanese.

The first is that the terms 'stone age', 'bronze age' and 'copper age' which are used to indicate the main stages in primitive man's progress towards civilization, are merely relative terms and do not correspond to any fixed dates of general application. In western Europe for example, the stone age was superseded by that of bronze four or five thousand years ago, but the Andamanese like the aborigines of Australia had not emerged from it when they were first visited by Europeans.

The presence of negritic tribes in a group of islands separated from Africa by some 3000 miles of sea is a very remarkable phenomenon. Negritoes are indeed to be found even further afield in the Philippines and

the Malay peninsula. And many ethnologists think that there is a negritic substratum in certain sections of the population of Southern India. Nor is it only in the east that we find traces of people of African origin. Western Europe contained a negroid race in what is known as the Reindeer period, that is to say, the period immediately following the final disappearance of the glaciers. It is thus clear that the great migrations which are known to have taken place in historic times, notably the successive hordes which spread over Europe from Central Asia, had their counterpart in the far distant past, when our remote ancestors were still ignorant of the use of any kind of metal or even of polished stones, and their weapons and means of transport were still of the most primitive description. Again, the fact that negrito tribes are found on islands which they could not possibly have reached under the present distribution of sea and land shows that great changes must have taken place in this respect since their migration took place. Prior to the Tertiary period when the Himalayas were thrown up, the Indian peninsula was bounded on the north by a great central sea, which cut it off from the rest of Asia, while on the south it was joined to an ancient land area which stretched from the Malay peninsula to Madagascar, and of which traces still remain in a chain of shoals and islands including the Laccadive, Maladive and Chagos islands. It would be rash to assert that this ancient continent had not begun to disappear before the human race appeared upon the earth; but its subsidence was no doubt gradual and it must have been far from complete

when the ancestors of the eastern negroes with their flimsy vessels made their trek eastwards.

Finally I may note the extraordinary resemblance between the Andamanese and other primitive tribes in all parts of the world in regard to their fundamental ideas on religion and magic, their relations between the sexes and their tribal organisation with an exogamous inner circle and an endogamous outer one. It would almost seem as if their primary belief and practices had grown up before the human race dispersed from its original nidus.

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## II. MOLOLA :

### A CHANG NAGA FOLK-STORY

regarding the relations between a man and his sister's son.

By J. H. HUTTON, M. A., C. I. E., I. C. S.

In the beginning the world was on fire, and all men from their villages and all animals gathered on Ngakusom mountain, where there was nothing to burn. The water came after the fire, and gradually quenched the fire and submerged the whole world in water, so that the men had to remain on Ngakusom.

At this time men did not know how to make fire, and the tiger peeled a cane sliver and told all men to cover their eyes with their hands, which they did. But one man was cunning, and peeped through his finger. The tiger put a piece of wood under his foot. Then he put the cane sliver between his claws, and under the piece of wood, and drew it up through between two other claws, and pulled it backwards and forwards, and lit the tinder. Then he said, "Look ! I am going to bring fire out of my claw !" and he produced the lit tinder. <sup>1</sup> Then he said "Did anyone see ?" and they all said "No". But one man had watched through his fingers, and he afterwards made fire with a stick and cane. When the tiger found that the man had learnt his trick, he went off into the jungle.

The water had not gone down, but the sea (Molo) came right up to the mountain saying "No, no, no, no," <sup>2</sup> and as there was a girl called Molola they said to her mother, "The water wants

your daughter. You must give her up." So the mother reluctantly gave her up, and the men threw her into the sea. Then the sea receded, saying "No, no," and dried up, and took away the girl to the place from which it had started. Then Molola's mother went to look for her, and came to the sea, and found her there lying between two mom-fish <sup>3</sup>. She had a mark on her head such as we now tattoo on girls <sup>4</sup> and such as is found beneath the skin on the forehead of the mom-fish, which we do not eat for that reason <sup>5</sup>, at any rate if caught in the Ijung river <sup>6</sup>, which runs below Ngakusom. Then her mother called her, and she said, "When I have a child, I will come."

So she came with her child, which was a fish. She put this child on the bed, whilst she went to drink liquor with her relations who had all invited her as soon as she got back. Meanwhile her elder brother came, and thinking that his sister brought the fish to eat, cooked it and ate it. Then Molola came and said "Where is my child?" and her parents said, "We have not seen it; there was a fish on your bed, which your elder brother cooked and ate, thinking that you had brought it as a present." Then Molola said, "Well, at least give me the bones" ; But the bones were thrown into the fire and partly burnt. "Get out the bones ! Get out the bones !" said Molola, so her brother pulled out the bones, spitting on them to put the fire out. Then Molola made a leaf cup and filled it with cold water and put the bones in it. Then the fish-child came back to life, but as it had been eaten and its bones half burnt, it was very thin toward the tail, and from

that day all fish are thin at the tail, though they have flesh about the head.

When she got back, Molola's husband said "Why have you brought back the child all thin in the tail?" And Molola said, "His uncle spat on him, and he became thin in the tail." This is the reason why we never say any bad words to our sisters' children. If they say anything bad to their mother's brother, he spits on them, and says, "Take the curse of your uncle's<sup>1</sup> spittle!" after which they usually get ill and and go particularly thin in the buttocks. Then the parents send for the mother's brother and give him a cupful of liquor, which he sips and gives to his sister's son, who drinks it off in one breath. This is a sign of forgiveness by the uncle of the nephew. If rich, he sometimes gives his nephew money as well. He says to his sister's husband, "Brother-in-law, let you keep well and very strong," and thus goes.

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<sup>1</sup> An Ao is said to have played a simitar trick on a plainsman who was ignorant of the Naga method of making fire. The plainsman was trying to cause wonder by striking lights from matches. An old Ao said that he could produce it from under his cloth without any material at all, and as the split stick and sliver of peeled bamboo on the ground gave rise to no suspicion, spread his cloth round about him and forthwith produced smouldering tinder from underneath it to the successful mystification of the plainsman.

<sup>2</sup> The nearest point to the Chang country of any sea is at least three hundred miles as the crow

flies, and that is the Bay of Bengal, with which they are most unlikely to have ever been in contact. "No, no" must be the sound of the waves, and the whole is suggestive of the theory that the Indonesian stories of a great darkness and a great fire, followed by a great flood, are attributable to memories of a cataclysm which overwhelmed part of the south Pacific and drove the inhabitants to take refuge in the hills by submerging the lower levels. Cf also Sir J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, Vol. I, pt. i, ch. i, v. § 19.

<sup>3</sup> The fish called by the Changs "mem" is a catfish, a large siluroid, either *Begarius Varrellii* or some fish very like it.

<sup>4</sup> This design is a lozenge, or rather the heraldic 'mascle', with the four sides prolonged a little.

<sup>5</sup> I fancy that most of the Chang clans eat the fish without much compunction. Other Naga tribes all eat it with relish.

<sup>6</sup> Better known as the Yangnyu, and marked "Yangnu" on the map. It is the southern branch of that river.

<sup>7</sup> i. e. mother's brother. The Chang word is *skō*, and that for a sister's child is 'li, källi' in address.

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### III. TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP IN CHANG NAGA.

By J. H. HUTTON, M. A., C. I. E., I. C. S.

The Chang Nagas and the Thado Kukis are both, as at present constituted, exogamous and stoutly patrilineal tribes, and both are of mixed origin. The Changs, at any rate, prohibit marriage between a man and his immediate relations on his mother's side, though this prohibition seems to be in the process of breaking down, as such unions nowadays take place in spite of the disapproval of the older generation. Both tribes are composed of a number of different clans each of which claims descent from a common ancestor. Property passes through the male line, and women cannot ordinarily inherit at all. Both tribes are organised in villages under separate chiefs. In neither is any trace of dual organization, such as is found in the Angami and Lhota Naga tribes, apparent, though for want of detailed information it cannot be absolutely affirmed that no such traces exist in the Chang tribe.

In the Chang Naga relationship terms given below, it will be noticed that while some of them begin, with an initial *a* others are shewn as beginning with an apostrophe. Those beginning with the *a* are used as they stand without the addition of any pronominal adjective when addressing the person denoted by the term; when they are used with reference to such a person but in speaking to another the *a* is elided and the pronominal adjective takes its place—*kà* or *kā*, = 'my'. *kā*, = 'your'. *hva*, = 'his', etc. In the case of the terms shewn as beginning with an apostrophe the pronominal adjective of the

first person is always prefixed when addressing the person denoted.

The terms used are the same, whether a man or woman is speaking, except where they are differentiated by the use of the letters *m. s.*, *w. s.* after the term used.

Father ... ..	<i>apo</i>	
mother ... ..	<i>anyu</i>	
elder brother ... ..	<i>ajai</i>	
elder sister ... ..	<i>ano</i>	
younger brother ... ..	} <i>ana</i>	[ ordinarily the personal name is used, but on intimate occasions <i>ana</i> ( or 'na ).
younger sister ... ..		
father's brother...	<i>apo</i>	( in address ). In speaking to a third person 'po would be used followed by the personal name. If great precision were necessary 'po-jai-shūpo, or 'po—na—shūpo as the case might be.
father's brother's wife	<i>anyu</i>	followed by personal name.
father's sister...	<i>anyi</i>	
father's sister's husband	<i>akō</i>	
mother's brother ... ..	<i>akō</i>	
mother's brother's wife	<i>anyi</i>	
mother's sister ... ..	<i>anyu</i>	or <i>anyu</i> followed by the personal name, in address, otherwise 'nyu-na-shōnyu or nyu-na-shōnyu as the case may be.
mother's sister's husband	<i>apo</i>	followed by personal name.
grand—parent ... ..	<i>api</i>	used in address ; in speaking to a third person 'pimai* is used for an actual grandparent on the father's side, and 'pi for one of that generation ; to distinguish sex 'posholi (masc.) and yakwibi ( fem. ) are used for the paternal

				grandparents, 'pyubu-po (= 'mother's father') etc. for the maternal.
husband ...	...	...	...	personal name used in address; in reference 'lau' (= husband) or 'chānpapo' (= 'male-from-the house') are used.
wife ...	...	...	...	personal name used in address; in reference 'yak' (= wife) or 'chānpayn' (= 'female-from-the house') are used.
wife's father ...	...	...	...	akū
wife's mother ...	...	...	...	anyi
husband's father...	...	...	...	akū
husband's mother ...	...	...	...	anyi
daughter's husband ...	...	...	...	'li, but in calling aloud, as from a distance, the personal name is used.
son's wife ...	...	...	...	
wife's brother ...	...	...	...	hauko**
sister's husband (m. s.) ...	...	...	...	
sister's husband (w. s.)...	...	...	...	pepo
husband's brother ...	...	...	...	pepo
wife's sister ...	...	...	...	haunyn, or penyn.
brother's wife (m. s.) ...	...	...	...	penyn
brother's wife (w. s.) ...	...	...	...	haunyni, or anyāng, (or ano if much older than speaker)
husband's sister ...	...	...	...	
wife's sister's husband ...	...	...	...	pepo
husband's brother's wife ...	...	...	...	nanna if of same clan as speaker; otherwise anyāng; ano is also used to a senior.
son's wife's father ...	...	...	...	hauko.
son's wife's mother ...	...	...	...	haunyn if of different clan, haunyni if of same clan.
son ...	...	...	...	'shō [personal name used ordinarily, 'shō on intimate occasions.
daughter...	...	...	...	
brother's son (m. s.) ...	...	...	...	'shōmanpo
brother's daughter (m. s.) ...	...	...	...	'shōmanyn
brother's child (w. s.) ...	...	...	...	'li
husband's brother's son...	...	...	...	'shōmanpo
husband's brother's daughter ...	...	...	...	'shōmanyn

wife's brother's child	...	...	li
sister's child (w. s.)	...	...	'li
sister's child (w. s.)	...	...	'shō
wife's sister's child	...	...	'shō
father's sister's son	...	...	'nyangi, but not so common in address as personal name; in reference 'nyangiyo.
mother's brother's son	...	...	
father's sister's daughter	...	...	'nyangsu, but less common in address than personal name in reference 'nyangsuanyu.
mother's brother's daughter	...	...	
father's brother's son	...	...	ajai if older than speaker; if younger <i>ana</i> on intimate occasions, on others, personal name.
father's brother's daughter	...	...	ano if older than speaker; if younger <i>ana</i> on intimate occasions, on others personal name.
mother's sister's son	...	...	aj followed by personal name, to an elder; to a younger, name only, but 'na on intimate occasions.
mother's sister's daughter	...	...	ano followed by personal name, to an elder; to a younger, name only, out 'na on occasions.
grandchild	...	...	'shī

*N. B.* *ajai* and *ano* are frequently used merely to show respect, instead of the strictly appropriate terms.

\**pimai*—*mai* = 'true', 'real'.

\*\**hauko*, *haunyu*, *haunyi*—said to be a combination of *hau* = 'his' or 'her' and *ako*, *anyu*, *anyi*, the *hau* referring to the speaker's child to whom the person designated will be *ako*, *anyu* or *anyi* as the case may be. This, at any rate, was the explanation given me by the most intelligent Chang I know.



# IV. THADO KUKI TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.

By J. H. HUTTON, M. A., C. I. E., I. C. S.

In the Thado relationship terms which follow, the form beginning with *he*—is that used in addressing the relative denoted. In referring to the same relative when speaking to some one else, the possessive pronoun is substituted, *he*—being replaced by *ka*—= 'my', *na*—= 'your', or *a*—= 'his' etc. In such cases, and in the one or two cases in which the form in *he*—is not used in address, I have given the simple root preceded by an apostrophe. In these latter cases where *he*—is not used in address, the possessive of the first person, *ka*—, is used in addressing the person denoted, as in reference to him also.

Two generations above.	Father's father ...	<i>hepa</i>	N. B. The personal name may not be added in address.
	mother's father ...	<i>hepa</i>	
	father's mother ...	<i>heli</i>	
	mother's mother ...	<i>heli</i>	
one generation above.	Father ...	<i>hepa</i>	in reference ' <i>pa</i> ten' also <i>hepa</i> nga, ' <i>pa</i> neo' which is the usual word for other male patrilineal collaterals of this generation.
	mother ...	<i>henu</i>	
	father's older brother ...	<i>hepa</i>	
	father's younger brother ...	<i>hepa</i>	
	father's brother's wife ...	<i>henu</i>	(N. B. the personal name may not be added in address.)
	father's sister ...	<i>henu</i>	
	father's sister's daughter ...	<i>hepa</i> nga	
	mother's sister ...	<i>henu</i> nga	
	mother's sister's husband ...	<i>hepa</i>	if the wife is of the same clan as her husband's mother, otherwise <i>hepa</i> , or <i>he-n</i> according to age.
	mother's brother ...	<i>hepa</i>	
	mother's brother's wife ...	<i>hepi</i>	as above, otherwise <i>henu</i> or <i>he-n</i> ( in reference ' <i>unu</i> ' ).
	wife's father ...	<i>hepa</i>	
	wife's mother ...	<i>hepi</i>	
	husband's father ...	<i>hepa</i> nga	
	husband's mother ...	<i>henu</i>	

Contemporary generation.

Elder brother ...	...	he-u	
younger brother ...	...	'nao	
elder sister ...	...	he-u,	in reference 'unu.
younger sister...	...	'nao,	'naonu.
father's brother's son ...	}	he-u followed by personal name,	
mother's sister's son ...		if older than speaker, name	
father's sister's son ...		alone if younger.	
father's brother's daughter	}	he-u as above, but 'nun in refer-	
mother's sister's daughter		ence.	
father's sister's daughter			
mother's brother's son	...	hepu	followed by personal name if necessary.
mother's brother's daughter	...	hemunga	
husband ...	...	his son's name with—pa—( =	
		father ) suffixed	
wife ...	...	personal name, or 'jine ( = wife)	
wife's brother...	...	hepu	followed by personal name if necessary.
wife's sister ...	...	hemunga	
husband's elder brother	...	he-u	
husband's younger brother	}	personal name.	
husband's sister ...			
wife's sister's husband	...	he-u	followed by personal name, or gupa ( = friend ) etc. according to age.
husband's elder brother's wife	...	he-u	followed by name if necessary.
husband's younger brother's wife	...	personal name.	
wife's brother's wife ...	...	hepi	
husband's sister's husband	...	personal name.	
elder sister's husband...	...	he-u	followed by personal name.
elder brother's wife ..	...	he-u	in reference 'unu.
younger sister's husband	...	personal name	
younger brother's wife	...	personal name	
son's wife's parents ...	...	personal names.	
daughter's husband's parents...	...	hepu, hepa, he-u, &c.,	according to age and circumstances.

One generation below.

Son ...	...	personal name; in reference 'nao, or cha.	
daughter ..	...	personal name; in reference paonu, or 'chann.	
brother's child ...	}	personal name.	
sister's child ...			
husband's brother's child			
husband's sister's child			
wife's sister's child ...	}	hepu, followed by name if necessary, if of the same clan as the speaker's mother; otherwise personal name.	
wife's brother's son ...			

Two gene- below.	{	wife's brother's daughter ...	<i>kenungu</i> , used as above; other- wise personal name.
		daughter's husband ...	} personal name.
		son's wife ...	
	{	Son's son ...	} personal name, or <i>tupa</i>
		daughter's son ...	} personal name, or <i>tsuu</i> .
		son's daughter ...	
		daughter's daughter	

.N B. *Hepu*, *hepa* and *he-u* are, like their corresponding feminines, all used at times merely to show respect, and it will be noticed that whereas the personal name is sometimes always used in conjunction with one of these terms, its addition is sometimes optional, and depends on whether it is desirable to distinguish between the often considerable number of persons who might be indicated by the term used, while in address, at any rate, the addition of the personal name is in certain instances absolutely prohibited. *Hepu* is a term of very great respect, and if used outside its genealogical applicability, would only be so used to very old or great men, to whom it was desired to show particular respect.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

The Birhors believe that the Sun (*Singi*) and the Moon (*Chandu*) are related to each other as brother and sister. *Editor.*

The Sun and the Moon, according to the Birhors, stood sureties (*jāmin*) for the debts of man in ancient times, and the messengers (*peadas*) of the creditor (whose names and identity my Birhor informants could not give) are believed to seize, from time to time, either of the two sureties, thus causing an eclipse. *Editor.*

On the occasion of a lunar eclipse, a Birhor strikes two iron implements (*sickles, &c.*) against each other three times. Old iron implements are also exposed in the open during an eclipse, and subsequently taken to a blacksmith for making wristlets out of them for the use of children in order to protect the wearers from the evil eye and from the evil attentions of mischievous spirits. It is also believed that such charms induce good dreams and prevent ghosts and spirits from appearing to their wearers in dreams. *Editor.*

According to the Birhor, the Sun had a number of children almost as luminous as himself, and between themselves the Sun and Star-myth of the his children made the universe so hot as to make existence unbearable.

Birhors. So in order to save creation, the Moon hit upon a clever trick to do away with the children of the

Sun. She prepared a delicious dish of curry with the tender stalks of the lotus (*salkid ba*) which tasted like flesh. The Sun was highly pleased with the dish and asked his sister what it was made of. The Moon replied that it was prepared with the flesh of her own children (whom she had in reality kept in hiding at the time). The Sun was thus deluded into thinking that the meat of his own children would taste as sweet, and determined to kill all his children and eat their meat. And the resolution was soon put into action. Fortunately one of the sons had been to a dancing party in a different place and he alone thus escaped with his life. This only surviving son of the Sun is now known as the *Bhurka* and is the same as the planet Venus popularly known either as the morning-star or as the evening-star according as it appears in the morning or in the evening. Except this star the other stars that we now see in the heavens are all children of the Moon who brings them out of their hiding place at night-time only.

*Editor.*

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## GLEANINGS.

Institutional Conception of Social Psychology.  
.....Psychology is clearly not an absolute science of instincts or mentalities of any sort constituting a permanent human nature. Rather, psychology is an organismic and institutional discipline studying the complex unitary responses of organisms to stimulating conditions.

Obviously such organismic behaviour not only is different in infrahuman organisms as compared with human individuals, but also distinctly human reactions vary under different stimulating circumstances. Variations in human behaviour are especially determined by the fact that much of such behaviour consists of responses to institutions or institutional objects. While institutions are of course natural objects they differ from the simpler objects such as merely physical things, not only in their actual constitution but in their function as stimuli to action as well. Institutional objects are characterized by the fact that they are, even in the individual's first contact with them, fraught with definite human meanings. These meanings attach to and persist in the institutional objects by virtue of the fact that persons in previous contact with the objects in question crystallized such meanings by reacting to these objects in characteristic fashion.....

From all this it follows that psychology must be an essential, albeit only a co-ordinate, science with ethnology or ethics or sociology. Upon such a basis the various human sciences are pursued

as definite factual disciplines in which the laws and principles developed are derived more or less directly from the precise ways in which human beings react to their surroundings. In every intensive investigation of human phenomena the psychological and humanistic sciences, whether the latter be politics or philology, must co-operate with each other. The psychologist occupies himself with the reaction phases of the situation, while the social scientist brings to light and studies the stimulating institutions—J. R. Kantor, in *American Journal of Sociology* (May, 1922, pp. 778-9).

**India as a centre of Anthropological Inquiry**  
[ Under the above heading, Sir Arthur Keith, M. D., L. L. D., F. R. C. S., F. R. S., has in the course of a review of a book by the Editor of this Journal, made some observations on anthropological research in India. As these observations may be of some interest to students of anthropology in India, the review is reproduced below in *extenso* : ]

*Principles and Methods of Physical Anthropology*,  
By Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy. ( Patna University Readership Lectures, 1920 ) Pp. xiii 181. Five rupees.

There is not an anthropologist in Europe who will not extend a welcome to this work by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, Reader in anthropology at Patna University, not only for what it is, but also for what its appearance signifies. Anthropology, hitherto a plant of exotic growth in India, has at length taken root in the native mind. A single

readership in a single University is a somewhat slender root for a plant which has to cover more than 300 millions of people, but those who have noted the series of excellent researches and monographs which have been published in recent years by Mr. Roy and by his colleagues and disciples will have no fear of the result if a fostering hand be extended by the Government of India. Our knowledge of the peoples of India has been laid by those great-minded Civil Servants who realised that good government must be based on accurate, intimate, and sympathetic records of the mentality, customs, and traditions of the governed. It was at the feet of one of these great Indian servants, Sir Edward Gait, now Chancellor of the Patna University, that Mr. Roy was introduced to the methods and aims of modern anthropology.

The book under review, "Principles and Methods of Physical Anthropology," is based on the first course of lectures given by Mr. Roy as Reader in Anthropology in Patna University. The lectures now published, six in number, form one of the best introductions to the study of anthropology in the English language. It is true that many minor statements require emendation or qualification, but we are surprised that one who has made his reputation as a cultural anthropologist should have grasped so accurately the methods, aims, and theories of those who study the evolution of the human body and brain, as well as the rise and spread of modern races of mankind.

A mere enumeration of the titles given to the six lectures or sections into which this book is



divided will show the scope of the author's work. The first is devoted to the evidence relating to man's place in the zoological scale; the second to the evidence relating to man's antiquity; the third to the theory of evolution; the fourth to the theory of evolution applied to man's body, brain, and culture; the fifth to man's first home and early migrations; the sixth to the evolution of human races and their classification. Thereafter follow appendices giving the chief schemes for classification of human races, bibliographies, etc.

Hitherto the problems of anthropology have been viewed solely through European eyes; it is well that they should be seen also from the point of view of those who live on the banks of the Ganges. Certain it is that India is nearer the hub of the anthropological universe than Western Europe. Many anthropologists in looking round the world for the most likely place to serve as a cradle land of mankind have selected India or some neighbouring region—a belief in which Mr. Roy has faith. But whether this be so or not there can be no doubt that India lies on the great racial divide of modern mankind. Within its population taper off the three great divisions into which human races are grouped—the white, yellow and black. Here, too, three great linguistic families come into juxtaposition. It is a vast treasure-house of ancient rites, beliefs and customs.

It is a great task to which the author of this work has set his hand. He is bold enough to hope that his school will do for the 300 millions of India what the anthropological schools

of Cambridge and Oxford have done for the 36 millions of England. The English pioneers had an uphill fight, and it is the memory of this experience which will make them extend a willing and helping hand to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, Reader in anthropology in Patna University, in the difficulties and apathy which now confront him and his school.—ARTHUR KEITH, in *Nature* (APRIL 1, 1922).

ASIATIC ORIGIN OF THE REFLEXED "HORN" BOWS REFERRED TO IN THE HOMERIC POEMS:—.....From the evidence which I have given, and which could easily be elaborated further, I think that we must assume that the Homeric bows (*composite bows in which the bow is formed by the union of staves of different materials, and sinew-backed bows in which increased strength and resiliency are given by the addition of a layer of longitudinally-disposed sinews*)\* were of the Asiatic type, having a central supporting core of wood, a stout layer of horn glued along the "ventral" surface, and a powerful "backing" of longitudinally disposed sinews. That only the horn should have been visible externally is perfectly in keeping with the practice of the bow-makers of Central and Northern Asia, and also of Turkey, who leave the horn exposed, while covering and concealing the more delicate sinew backing and the lateral margins of the bow with a protecting sheath of bark or leather.—Henry Balfour in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, July—Decr. 1921.

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\* The words within brackets are added by us by way of explanation.—Editor.

## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In Vol I, No. 1, (1922) of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, Miss D. E. Yates records a folktale styled "*God and the Woodcutter*" which she and Mr. John Sampson learnt from a Rumani-Gypsy copper-smith, and cites from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1883), a folktale from the Upper Punjab which looks like an Indian prototype of the story. An Indian parallel to the Welsh Gypsy folktale of '*The Weaver and the Water-melon*' is also cited.

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In the March (1922) number of *Man*, Mr. K. P. Chattopadhyay, contributes an interesting paper on "*Levirate and Kinship in India*". In it he shows that the differentiation between the elder and younger brothers of the husband in Hindu society in Northern India owes its origin to the custom of junior levirate which existed in the unrestricted form in early Vedic times. He further notes that the limiting of the function of unrestricted levirate of the immigrant Aryans would appear to have arisen from interaction with the indigenous people among whom the feeling against the husband's elder brother probably existed from before the Aryan immigration.

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In the same number of *Man*, Mr. T. H. Vines mentions the existence close to the margins of certain hills in the North Indus Valley (northern Sind), patches of flint workshops containing old

cores and broken chips of a yellowish brown patination and lustre. Back in the same hills, in the nullahs, can be picked up flint knives and other tools, all of white or whitish colour.

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In the January (1922) number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore), Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao contributes an interesting article on '*Primitive Religion in Mysore*'.

In the April (1922) number of the same Journal, Mr. K. R. Pisharoti contributes an article on '*Acting in Kerala*', and Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar adds a short note making certain interesting observations on Mr. Rao's paper on '*Primitive Religion in Mysore*' in the January number of the same Journal.

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In the April (1922) issue of the *Records of the Indian Museum* (Calcutta), Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis has published a most careful and interesting statistical study of Anglo-Indian stature based on careful anthropometric measurements taken by Dr. N. Annandale, in the Zoological laboratory of the Indian Museum in the years 1916—1919. It is expected that no student of Physical Anthropology in India will omit to read this most interesting paper, which is, so far as are aware, the first of its kind published by an Indian scholar.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

The Sema Nagas. By J. H. Hutton, C. I. E., M. A., I. C. S. With maps and illustrations, and a Foreward by Henry Balfour, M. A., F. S. A., F. R. G. S., F. R. A. I. . PP. I—XVI+463. ( 8vo. ). Published by the direction of the Assam Government [London : Macmillan & Co. 1921] Price 40 S. net.

Local Governments and administrations in India cannot fail to have realised the great importance, at least from an administrative point of view, of intensive studies of the people—particularly of the comparatively 'primitive' tribes—in their respective jurisdictions. But so far, it is the Assam Government alone that have made an organised effort to have an intensive and not a merely superficial survey ( like that of the now defunct Ethnographical Survey of India ) of the tribes living within their jurisdiction. They have given practical proof of their recognition of the importance of such intensive studies by organizing a separate Department under a Director of Ethnography mainly with the object of having a series of monographs on the more important tribes and castes inhabiting the Province prepared by officers and others interested in the subject who have special opportunities of and aptitude for making first-hand studies of particular tribes or castes.

Among the most valuable of the series of monographs thus prepared and published under the auspices of the Assam Government are the two monographs one on the Angami and the other on the Sema Nagas written by the present Director of Ethnography for Assam. The volume on the

Sema Nagas is the outcome of an eight years' intimate acquaintance with the people and an intensive study by a sympathetic official, a ripe scholar and a keen observer who has been the first to master their language and one of the foremost to win their confidence. Mr. Hutton has indeed had unique opportunities for studying every side of the life of the people from every angle of vision. And ethnologists all over the world will without doubt give a cordial welcome to this excellent monograph which will give them a vivid insight into the economic, social and religious life of an important section of the Nagas. The habitat and affinities of the people and their successive migrations, their appearance, dress, weapons and character, the general features of their houses and villages, their arts and manufactures, their daily occupation and amusements, their modes of agriculture, hunting and fishing, their live stock and other belongings, their food, drink and medicine, their social organisation, laws and customs, their ideas of property and its devolution, their modes of settling disputes, their methods of warfare, their moral ideas and religious and other beliefs and practices—not the least interesting of which is the system of taboos or *gennas*,—their various interesting usages and ceremonies connected with birth and puberty, marriage and death, their ideas regarding the phenomena of Nature, their language and folklore,—in fact, the whole of the outer and inner life of the tribe—are portrayed in this book with a vivid realism and scientific fidelity to details which betoken patient

research combined with a deep sympathetic insight into the feelings and mentality of the people. The get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired; and the illustrations and the maps are very helpful. The book will, we are sure, at once take rank in the forefront of monographs on Indian tribes.

S. C. Roy.

**An Introduction to the Science of Sociology.**  
By Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess. (*The University of Chicago Press. Chicago, Illinois, 1921*)  
pp. xxi+1040; Price—\$ 4.50.

Teachers of Sociology in India and elsewhere will cordially welcome this fairly bulky but not unwieldy volume as an invaluable handbook. Materials illustrating the latest and most approved methods of Sociology have been gleaned from a wide range of authoritative sources. The 180 excerpts thus collected from leading writers on the subject have been systematically arranged under a definite series of sociological concepts and principles so as to bring into the perspective of a single volume almost the entire range of topics comprised in the science of Sociology. After an introductory chapter on 'Sociology and the Social sciences', the subject is developed in successive chapters headed as follow:—'Human Nature', 'Society and the Group', 'Isolation', 'Social contacts', 'Social Interaction', 'Social Forces', 'Competition', 'Conflict', 'Accommodation', 'Assimilation', 'Social Control', 'Collective Behaviour', and 'Progress'. The arrangement of each chapter which begins with an 'Introduction', is followed by 'Materials' from different

authoritative sources, and is concluded with a statement of 'Investigations and Problems' on the subject, and supplemented by a selected bibliography and a series of 'Topics for Written Themes' and 'Questions for Discussion', is calculated to be eminently helpful to those for whom the book is primarily intended as well as to others.

The careful selection of materials betokens ripe judgment, and their skilful arrangement and presentation show the master hand of expert teachers. This volume which combines the features of a textbook and a reference library is bound to prove eminently useful to teachers and students alike.

S. G. Roy.

**The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I.,**  
ANCIENT INDIA. Edited by Prof. E. J. Rapson,  
M. A. (University Press, Cambridge, 1922) pp.  
xxii+736. Price—42 S. net.

All students of Indian History will accord a cordial welcome to this first of the six proposed volumes on the history of India embodying, as it does, the results of up-to-date research. The volume under review deals with the history of Ancient India from the earliest times to about the middle of the first century, A. D. The method of treatment adopted in this work accounts both for the merits as well as the defects of the book. But the great merits of the book, we must at once admit, far outweigh its unavoidable defects. The obvious advantage of getting each division of the subject dealt with independently by some first-rate investigator on that particular branch cannot be



gainsaid. And the occasional discrepancies that necessarily occur in some of the different chapters, though somewhat perplexing to the general reader, are understood by the scholar as representing the actual state of a study which bristles with difficulties and obscurities. On many points of ancient Indian History the materials are still inadequate and scholars can do little more than "define the limits of possible hypothesis".

The names of the authors of the different sections of the volume before us afford sufficient guarantee of the authenticity of the matter and the excellence of the treatment. Thus Chapter I, which describes the India of the present day when railways and telegraph lines have supplanted the ancient routes, and gives an account of those geographical features which have determined the course of Indian history in past times, is contributed by Sir Halford J. Mackinder, Reader in Geography in the University of London. The eminent editor, Prof. E. J. Rapson, himself is the author of the second chapter which describes the peoples and languages of India and the sources of Indian History. In the third Chapter, Dr. P. Giles, Reader in Comparative Philology in the University of Cambridge, reviews the evidence which comparative Philology, aided by the ancient inscriptions of Western Asia, supplies for a knowledge of the early culture of the Aryans or 'Wiros', their original habitat, and the date of the migrations which eventually led some of their tribes into India. The primitive habitat of the Aryans is located by Dr. Giles in the areas now included in Hungary, Austria, and

Bohemia. In the fourth and fifth chapters, Prof. A. B. Keith describes the Vedas and the Brāhmanas. Dr. Rhys Davids describes the early History of the Jains in chapter VI., and the early History of the Buddhists in Chapter VII. And Mrs. Rhys Davids describes the economic conditions of India as portrayed in early Buddhist literature, particularly in the Pali thesauras of the *Jatakas* and to a limited extent in the *Vinaya*. Prof. E. W. Hopkins of the Yale University, who generally discusses the period of the Sutras, Epics and Law-books in Chapter IX, gives, in Chapter X, an account of family life and social customs as they appear in the Sutras and, in Chapter XI, an account of the princes and peoples of India's great Epics—the Ramāyana and the Mahābhārata, and, in Chapter XI, traces the growth of Law and legal institutions in ancient India. In Chapter XIII, we have an excellent account of the Purānas from the masterly pen of the editor, Prof. Rapson.

Up to this point the evidence has been laboriously gathered almost entirely from Indian sources. In the four chapters that follow, India is viewed in relation to other countries: Thus, in Chapter XIV, Dr. A. V. William Jackson, Profesor of Indo-Iranian Languages in the Columbia University, gives an account of the Persian dominions in Northern India down to the time of Alexander's invasions and Dr. George Macdonald adds a note on 'The Ancient Persian Coins in India'; in Chapter XV, Mr. G. R. Bevan gives a vivid account of Alexander's invasion of India and its consequences, and Dr. George Macdonald adds another note on

the 'Athenian and Macedonian Coins in India,' and in Chapter XVI, Mr. Bevan goes on to describe the impressions made by India upon the Hellenic peoples on the shores of the Mediterranean as revealed in early Greek and Latin literature. Chapter XVII contains an account, from the pen of Dr. George Macdonald, of the Hellenic Kingdoms of Syria, Bactria and Parthia.

In the three Chapters that follow, Dr. F. W. Thomas deals with the first great historical empire—that of the Mauryas,—Chapter VIII being devoted to Chandra Gupta, the founder of the Maurya Empire, Chapter XIX to an account of the political and social organisation of the Maurya Empire, and Chapter XX to an account of Asoka, the imperial patron of Buddhism. In Chapter XXI, Professor Rapson gives an account of Indian Native States after the period of the Maurya Empire; in Chapter XXII he describes the successive foreign invasions of India that followed the disintegration of the Maurya Empire; and in Chapter XXIII gives an account of the Scythian and Parthian Invaders of India. It is gratifying to find that the learned Editor has accepted the traditional dates of the Saka and Vikrama Eras which appear to have cogent reasonings in their favour. Dr. Barnett gives an account of the Early history of Southern India in Chapter XXIV, and of the early history of Ceylon in Chapter XXV; and, finally, in Chapter XXVI, Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India, gives an account of the monuments of Ancient India.

The book is illustrated with thirty-four finely

executed plates and a number of useful maps. The printing and general get-up of the book are excellent. Bibliographies to the different chapters of the book, a working chronology, and a good index are added.

To the student of Indian Ethnology to whom a knowledge of ancient Indian history is essential, we cannot recommend a more authoritative and up-to-date text-book on the subject than the volume under review.

If we were to offer any suggestion, we would, for one thing, suggest that a fuller treatment of the available materials regarding the pre-historic antiquities of India and their significance, as also an account, so far as possible, of the tribal movements in ancient India, would have enhanced the value of the book for students of the history of man in India. But unfortunately the absence of a lucid treatment of these topics is a common defect we notice in all books on Indian history. The reason for such omission obviously is that topics relating mostly to 'Pre-history' are not considered to be deserving of any thing more than a passing reference in a book dealing with 'historical' epochs. A student of the history of Indian man would, however, expect a full treatment of these topics to form the indispensable first chapter of a complete history of India. In spite of this, we do not hesitate to recommend the book to our readers as the most authoritative history of ancient India hitherto published.

*S. C. Roy.*

**Vijaya Dharma Suri: His Life & Work.**  
By A. J. Sunavala, B. A., L. L. B.,—with a Prefatory  
Note by F. W. Thomas. (Cambridge University  
Press, 1922) pp. 85, Price 5 S. net.

The life and work of a great Jaina saint or *sadhu* of our days described in such vivid colours in this memoir, brings before our eyes the ideal of the true monk as laid down in the Jaina scriptures. That ideal as set forth by our author is that—“He is not to preach for money, he is not to preach for power and authority, he is not to preach for fame or popularity, he is not to instruct for anything that he may get for himself; but he is to teach and instruct in fulfilment of his own duty, in fulfilment of his own *Dharma*. He is to teach in order that there may be a succession of teachers to help and guide the evolution of the race. He is to have knowledge not that he may keep and enjoy it for himself, but that he may in turn hand it on to others for their benefit and welfare. Thus nothing would be gained by him for himself, for his own happiness; but every thing would be gained by him for the people, for the people's happiness”.

And our author shows how Vijaya Dharma Suri resolutely strove to live up to that ideal. “As soon as he gains the glimpse of the real amid the fleeting, of the permanent amid the transitory, he leaves his parents and friends, he leaves his home and his native place, he leaves his pleasures and his comforts, and enters forthwith within the gateway of the glorious *Temple*, which shuts him out for ever from all earthly objects, from all the interests

of the lower world save that of service; which separates him from all human desires, save as he works for the helping of the world, for the helping of Humanity. To him the law of sacrifice has now become the law of life, and he voluntarily associates himself with it, in order that he may perform his share of the glorious work of aiding and assisting the evolution of the race. And in this mighty *Temple* of sublime serenity and peacefulness does he stand performing his actions in a sacrificial way, asking for nothing, seeking for nothing, demanding no reward for himself, performing his actions as so many duties, performing them because they ought to be performed, and for no other reason. And again, his is a joyful giving of everything that he possesses, a constant and a continuous pouring forth of everything for the helping and the joy of others, for the benefit and happiness of others, his whole life having now become one long and living sacrifice, the law of eternal seizing and grasping and holding having been changed into the law of eternal and endless giving and helping and assisting, the law of constant struggle for existence having been changed into the law of constant and continuous service and self-sacrifice, that being the true Law of Life". It is quite an inspiring biographical sketch.

S. C. Roy.

## OBITUARY.

The announcement of the death of the distinguished anthropologist Dr. William Hale Rivers, President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, which occurred on June 4 at the age of 58, has cast a gloom over anthropological circles throughout the world. In him Social anthropology loses one of its foremost votaries and teachers. His career as a sociologist is thus described by Dr. A. C. Haddon in *Nature* (June 17, 1922):—

“In 1898 Rivers joined the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits and had charge of the psychological work, in which he was ably helped by his pupils, C. S. Myers and William MacDougall. This was the first occasion on which trained psychologists with adequate equipment had attempted to investigate the psychology of natives in the field, and valuable results were obtained. While studying the psychology of the Torres Straits Islanders, Rivers began to collect genealogies in order to ascertain how far aptitudes or disaptitudes ran in families. He very soon found that the genealogies revealed a number of valuable data with regard to vital statistics, such as the number of births and deaths in a generation, the proportion of the sexes, the effects of fresh strains coming into a family, and the like. This method of research enabled him to record kinship terms with accuracy, and a consideration of them led to a study of social organisation. He also found that certain social

duties and privileges were confined to certain specific relationships. Thus step by step he was led to realise the prime importance of social grouping for an understanding of social structure and function, and he found that the genealogical method was best fitted to supply the necessary data. On joining the Expedition, Rivers went out with the sole object of studying comparative psychology, he came back a keen ethnologist, having in the meantime forged a new instrument of research.

"Four years later, in 1902, he went to south India to investigate the Todas, and in his important monograph ( "The Todas", 1906 ) on that small but most interesting people, he proved once more the value of the genealogical method. His researches demonstrated how a trained mind, sympathetic manner, and scientific method can accomplish a great deal of first class work in a relatively short time.

"His first expedition to Melanesia was made in 1908, when he devoted most of his time to the Solomon Islanders. The practical result of of his work there was the publication in 1914 of his monumental "History of Melanesian Society." The Melanesians were usually regarded as primitive folk of low culture, but Rivers demonstrated the existence of at least four layers of culture, due to as many migrations into that area. He dissected out, as it were, the main constituents of each layer, and showed that certain beliefs, rites, customs, and objects were found to be linked together in an organic whole



in each layer or complex. He also discussed acutely the probable effects of one culture upon another, and showed that certain conditions which had usually been considered as due to social evolution were better regarded as a case of social adjustment between a pre existing and an immigrant custom. The method formulated by Rivers is one of prime importance and is capable of indefinite extension to other peoples.

"As an example of the continual growth of the mind of Rivers and his intellectual honesty, it is interesting to note that in his presidential address to Section H of the British Association in 1911, and his "History of Melanesian Society" (1914), he points out the change that had taken place in his standpoint. The greater part of the book had been written as an evolutionist, and, in common with other English ethnologists, he believed that similarities of custom and belief are the results of the uniform reaction of the human mind to similar conditions. A further consideration of the facts and problems with which he was then occupied led him to the view that these similarities are the result of diffusion from a common source by means of migration—a view which certain older British ethnologists had held, though it was temporarily neglected. This change of standpoint prepared Rivers for an enthusiastic acceptance of the main principles enunciated by Prof. G. Elliot Smith in his "Migrations of Early Culture" (1915), and ever after Rivers was a keen supporter of cultural migrations.

"It seems almost superfluous to point out what a loss the death of Dr. Rivers is to psychology and ethnology. His keen critical mind and his insistence on scientific method were of inestimable importance to these young sciences; he, more than any one else, was establishing ethnology as a scientific discipline. It is impossible to indicate what his death means to his many friends'.

In a letter informing the editor of this journal, of the sad incident, Dr. A. C. Haddon writes:—

"It has been a terrible blow to us all and science loses a man with keen critical intellect, vast knowledge and charming disposition. I do not know how our Cambridge School of Ethnology will get on without him".

We need hardly say that students of Ethnology in India, too, deeply mourn the loss of the illustrious author of *The Todas*, the *History of the Melanesian Society* and many other valuable books and papers. His keen interest in Indian Ethnology was deeply appreciated by Indian students of the science. Indeed he was ever ready to assist and encourage Indian workers in the Science in every possible way. He contributed a most valuable article on *The Origin of Hypergamy* to the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* in 1921. And when he heard of the project of starting the present journal which was at first proposed to be issued bimonthly, Dr. Rivers at once wrote to the editor, "I am delighted to hear of your project of starting a bi-monthly journal. It should do a

great deal to arouse general interest in anthropology in India and should be especially valuable through its 'Notes and Queries' section. I shall be very glad to do all that I can to help. I am delighted to tell you that the Council of the Folklore Society, of which I am now President, elected you yesterday an Honorary Member. I am very glad that this should have been done while I am President of the Society. At this distance you may not perhaps understand how much those interested in Indian sociology value your work, and it is very pleasant to give this small indication of our appreciation."

Dr. Rivers promptly sent an article on *Kinship and Marriage in India* for publication in the first number of this journal, and, if he had been spared, would undoubtedly have contributed many more as he had kindly promised to do. His cordial sympathy and stimulating advice and guidance will be greatly missed by students of anthropology in this country.

## Students' Section.

[ As the average Indian Student of Anthropology often finds himself at a disadvantage for want of knowledge of ready access to interesting anthropological matter embedded in old issues of important periodicals, it is intended to publish in successive numbers of this journal lists of such articles and notes and to follow them up with abstracts of the more important among them. ]

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# MAN IN INDIA.

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## I. THE 'GODS' OF THE ORAONS.

BY THE EDITOR.

The Oraon of Chota Nagpur implicitly believes in the existence all around him of an invisible world of super-sensuous entities—of spiritual and semi-spiritual personal beings, unembodied spirits and disembodied souls, and impersonal powers and energies encompassing and interpenetrating this phenomenal world. The world of spirits is to the Oraon as much a reality as the visible world of his senses. It is these invisible spirits that are believed by him to control or affect the course of Nature and the events of human life. And it is according to the measure of their respective powers for good or evil that these spirits receive various degrees of attention.

It is the higher spirits or *deotas* (gods), the semi-divine spirits of their own ancestors or *pach-ba'lar*, and a certain class of disembodied spirits or *nads*, (*bhuts* or ghosts) with whom man may get into communication either in dreams or trances, whose supposed activities, either helpful or harmful (more often the latter than the former), appear to be of sufficient consequence to excite the religious sensibilities or emotions of the Oraon and demand

special attention or homage. These constitute the deities of the Oraon pantheon; and the various rites and ceremonies performed to conciliate and propitiate them and to establish friendly relations with them so as to secure good luck and avert bad luck in regard to health, food and progeny, constitute the religious practices of the tribe.

The inferior spirits and impersonal powers and energies of which, according to the Oraon, the earth is as full 'as a tree is full of leaves' (*gāchh bharal pātā, prithvi bharal bhūt*), form the objects not so much of their religious beliefs and observances as of their magical or magico-religious doctrines and practices.

#### I. *Dharmes or the Supreme Deity.*

The highest divinity recognised by the Oraon is Dharmes, the Supreme God, the Source of life and light. The Oraon's conception of a Supreme Deity ruling over the universe and over the other gods and spirits may probably have been suggested by the spectacle of the Sun reigning supreme in the sky, and dispersing darkness and its terrors and bringing light and its blessings to the earth,—for the Oraon name for the Sun—*Biri*—is not infrequently still applied to the Supreme Deity as *Biri-Be'las* or the 'Sun-God'. The name *Dharme* or *Dharmes* is probably derived from some Sanskritic language, and is a later loan-word to indicate the Creator. Similarly among the Maler or Sauria Paharias of the Raj Mahal Hills, the nearest congeners of the Oraons, the Creator or the Supreme Deity is now generally known by the name of *Ugjo Gosain* or *Laihu Gosain*, whereas *Peru* or *Bedo*

Gossain has now come to be regarded as a separate Sun-God, though when Lieutenant Shaw prepared the first published account of the tribe in 1795, Bedo ( lit, ) the Sun was the name generally applied by the Maler to the Supreme Deity.<sup>1</sup> The name 'Dharmes' is unknown to the Malers.

Now-a-days, the Oraon sometimes applies the purely Hindu name of *Bhagwan* to the Supreme God; and even in the Oraon story of the genesis of man and the spirits<sup>2</sup>, either the Hindu goddess Pārvati, the consort of Siva ( as in some versions ) or ( as in other versions ) Sita, the wife of Rām Chandra—a supposed incarnation of God,—is spoken of as the wife of Dharmes. The Rev. P. Dehon appears to have been misinformed when in his article on *The Religion and Customs of the Oraons*<sup>3</sup> he wrote, "when they use *Dharmes* the idea of God is entirely separated from the Sun, whilst while they use *Bhagavan* they naturally look to the Sun as the Kols do". It is true that in using the name 'Dharmes,' the Oraon now-a-days refers only to the Supreme God and does not ordinarily think of the Sun at all, but so also in using the Hindu name 'Bhagwan,' the Supreme God alone is meant and there is no reference whatever to the Sun. When the Sun is particularly meant, the term used by the Oraon is either 'Biri or 'Suruj' 'or 'Suruj Bhagwan' ( the Sun God ) but never simply 'Bhagwan.'

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Asiatic Researches*, vol. V.

<sup>2</sup> Vide, S. C. Roy's *Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, pp. 442, &c., and *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I (1906) No. 9, pp. 128 &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* ( 1906 ) Vol. I; No. 9, p. 125.



The appropriate colour for Dharmes is white—the colour of the Sun; and the fowl or goat sacrificed to him must be of a white colour. And in offering prayers or sacrifices to Dharmes, the Oraon must turn his face to the east—in the direction of the rising Sun. All these circumstances appear to point to the probability of the Sun being the origin of the idea of 'Dharmes' and I have often heard Oraon elders identifying Dharmes with *Biri Be'las* or the Sun God. And we find Colonel Dalton supporting this view when he writes of the Oraons, "like the Mundas, they acknowledge a Supreme God, adored as Dharme or Dharmesh, the Holy One, who is manifest in the Sun." \*

Col. Dalton, in his turn, however was in error in attributing to the Oraon the idea that "Dharmesh cannot and does not interfere, if the spirit of evil once fastens upon us," and that, according to the Oraon, "it is therefore of no use to pray to Dharmesh or to offer sacrifices to him." Dalton was not quite correct in supposing that "though acknowledged, recognised, and revered, he (Dharmes) is neglected, whilst the malignant spirits are adored." True, the Oraon has no temple or sacred grove or other seat specially assigned to Dharmes nor has he any special season for offering sacrifices to Dharmes, but the Oraon offers the sacrifice of a white cock to Him at every important feast such as the Sarhul and also when other helpers fail. Again, at every sacrificial ceremony, the Oraon offers a libation of a few drops of water in the name of Dharmes and a libation of

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\* *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, (1872), p. 25"

a few drops of liquor to his ancestor-spirits or *Pach-bā'tāro*, before libations of liquor and sacrifices of fowls or animals are offered to the particular spirit or spirits for whose propitiation the ceremony is specially meant.

Finally, in extreme distress, when the other deities or spirits fail him, the Oraon offers prayers and sacrifices to Dharmes as a last resource.

The fact that Dharmes controls the other gods and spirits is particularly symbolised by the arrangement of the sacrifices at the principal Oraon religious festival (known as the *Sarhul*). At this festival held at the village *Sarna* or sacred grove of *Sal* (*Shorea robusta*) trees, fowls are sacrificed under the main *Sarna* tree to each Oraon deity and principal spirit as well as to Dharmes. Each fowl, before being offered up in sacrifice, is fed on a small handful of rice placed on the ground. These handfuls of rice are placed in a row, each in the name of a particular *deota* or spirit, and at the head of the row, a little apart from the rest, is placed a handful of rice meant for the white cock to be sacrificed to Dharmes. This arrangement of the rice-grains, as several Oraon priests explained to me, is meant to symbolise their prayer that Dharmes may control the other spirits and see that they behave properly. When a white cock is offered in the name of Dharmes, the Oraon priest prays,—*Nin Dharme, Bābā hekdāe akkāṃ bālkām, ādin sāmṛhākē. Emhāe khann māla iri, nighāe khann iri; ninhim lābā hekdāe; sāmṛhake.* "Thou Dharmes art (our) Father. Whether we know or do not know (i. e., whether through ignorance we neglect or fail to propitiate any par-

ticular spirit) do Thou restrain him (i. e. the offended spirit). Our eyes do not see; Thine eyes see".

Just as the Sun sees all that goes on upon the earth and in the heavens, so Dharmes sees all that man and the spirits do and knows all that they think. And the Oraon has a notion that Dharmes punishes offences against customary morality. As an expiation for such an offence, the sacrifice of a white cock to Dharmes is considered indispensable.

There is one fact in connection with the Oraon cult of Dharmes which may seem to be of particular significance. The only ceremony in which Dharmes alone is invoked and in which sacrifice is offered to him alone is the *Dandā-Kaṭṭa* (tooth-breaking) or *Bhelwaphari* (Bhelwa twig splitting) ceremony referred to in the Oraon legend of the genesis of the race. And it is only at this ceremony that the traditional Oraon story of the genesis is ceremonially recited by the officiant. The sacrifice consists only of an egg which is inserted in the forked end of a split *bhelwa* (*semicarpus anacardium*) twig and is, in the manner of imitative magic, broken with prayers to Dharmes for "breaking the evil eye and evil mouth" of evil-minded persons, wizards, witches and malicious spirits and malicious persons, "even as the egg is broken," so that no harm may occur to the Oraon's crops, and health, plenty and prosperity may attend him and his family. This ceremony of egg-breaking is also performed, but without the recitation of the legend, on the occasion of the *chhathi* or purification ceremony on the eighth day after the birth of a child, again in

connection with a marriage ceremony, and also after the cremation of a dead Oraon. From the traditional Oraon legend of the origin of man and his institutions, we learn that this magical ceremony was the original method of the Oraon's approach to supersensual powers for help. This ceremony is said to have been prescribed and adopted when their crops were first injured by beasts and other pests.

The cult of deities and spirits and the propitiatory or religious ceremonies connected with them are said in the legend to have been instituted afterwards when the intense heat from the furnaces of the iron-smelting Asurs began to scorch up everything green.

According to the legend it was not till Dharmes in the garb of a magician killed the males of the iron-smelting tribe of Asurs by a trick and their widowed females implored Him to provide them with means of subsistence that He ordained that they should inhabit the earth as spirits and live on such sacrifices and offerings as man might make to them. Thus Oraon tradition would appear to represent Magic as having preceded Religion proper.

It is interesting to note that the second part of the Oraon legend of the genesis, which refers to the cult of spirits, is common also to the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, and whereas the *Danda-Kaṭṭa* ceremony of the Oraons, in which Dharmes is the only Deity appealed to, is presided over by the Oraon *Pancā*, representing the whole Oraon village community, the propitiation of the village spirits or *deotas* and *nāds* is the function of the village priest or *Pāhān* (Oraon,

*Naigas*) and in an Oraon village in which there are still one or more families of the old Munda settlers, the Pāhān is generally a Munda. The reason assigned for this by the Oraon is that the Mundas being the earliest settlers on the Chota Nagpur plateau have better knowledge of the deities and spirits of the land and of the proper methods of propitiating them. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the village gods and spirits of the Oraon pantheon are borrowed from the Mundas, as a few are borrowed even from their Hindu neighbours. As we proceed, we shall discuss the respective sources from which the conception of the different classes of deities and spirits of the Oraons appears to have been derived.

## *II. Ancestor-Spirits.*

Like the cult of Dharmes, the cult of ancestor-spirits would appear to have been independently evolved by the Oraon. His cult of Oraon Doctrine ancestor-spirits appears, to be the of the Soul. natural outcome of his conception of the human soul. The Oraon conceives of the human soul as the shadowy counterpart or double of the physical body of the individual, and this shadowy double is believed to carry with it the vital principle. The soul, it is believed, temporarily leaves the body daily or rather nightly during the hours of sleep and occasionally in sickness, trances and similar conditions.

To the Oraon his dreams are realities. What the Oraon remembers as dreams are, The Soul in he believes, what his soul actually Dreams. saw, heard and did when it went out

of the body during sleep or sickness and visited places far and near, usually places which it had lately visited in the flesh but sometimes also new and unfamiliar places. It is because the soul leaves the body in sleep that an Oraon avoids suddenly waking a sleeping man; he will call him several times by name, thereby allowing the wandering soul time to return into the body.

Although the Oraon does not appear to adopt any specific measures to bring back  
'Chor-dewa' the wandering soul of a sick man and restore it to its body or to prevent the departure of the soul by such devices as stopping up the various exits of the body in sickness and similar other conditions, there is one class of cases in which he seeks to seize and destroy the wandering soul in order that the person, being thus deprived of his soul, may die. This he does in the case of what he calls a *chor-dewa* or the thievish spirit of a wizard or witch. Whereas ordinary human souls leave the body automatically in sleep and death, and wander about invisible like the wind, the soul of a wizard or witch may leave the body at will and go wherever it chooses, in a material shape as a *chor-dewa* or thievish spirit. The material shape usually assumed by a *chor-dewa* with a view to escaping detection is that of a black cat or of a human pigmy not higher than a man's thumb. In this shape, the soul of a wizard or witch effects its mischievous designs of causing fatal sickness to sleeping persons by biting off the ends of their hair, or licking up the saliva trickling down the

corners of their mouths, or by nibbling at the dead skin on the soles of their feet. When such a thievish soul is detected in its assumed shape going about its mischievous errands, the Oraon at once falls upon it and either seriously wounds it or kills it and the physical body of the *chor-dewa* is sure to be found lying similarly wounded or dead at home.

As for the ordinary Oraon, the Supreme God—Dharmes—it is believed, protects his soul from harm when it leaves the body in sleep or sickness and wanders aimlessly about. And at times the ancestor-spirits of an Oraon guard his soul while it thus wanders about in sleep or sickness. Thus Charra Oraon of village Sakra, an old man of seventy, gave me a vivid description of one of the excursions of his soul during the sleep of the body in the course of which his soul strayed to the confines of what appeared to be a populous and prosperous village and was in fact the under-ground settlement of the dead forefathers of his own hamlet. On the borders of the settlement, he (his soul) met a hoary-headed old man sitting on a low stool (*māchia*). As soon as the latter saw him he forbade Charra on pain of death to enter the settlement and called out to a young man whom he ordered to conduct him back to his body. Charra firmly believes that if he had not been thus sent away but had actually entered the settlement and met his own dead ancestors and near and dear relatives, his visit would have been unduly prolonged so as to render difficult his timely return to his physical body and thus cause his death.

Again, the Oraons believe that the spirits of

their deceased fathers or grandfathers often come to attend the sick-beds of their Solicitude of living sons and grandsons, and ancestor-spirits many an Oraon has told me how in for their sick severe illness while the body lay in descendants. a state of physical insensibility or sleep they (their souls) perceived their deceased relatives patiently seated by their bed-side guarding their sick-rooms against the intrusion of mischievous spirits.

When an Oraon who is ill shows no sign of improvement, he or his relatives call upon their ancestor-spirits, complain of their apparent indifference and pray as follows,— “Khekhel kia Pāchbālār rādar ; Kūk māia Dharmes rādas. Eman erdar kā māla ? Emhāi nāri chepāu hoārki kālā. Māl bujhārdar ? Emān eō, sādhor ?” “Underneath this earth you ancestor-spirits dwell, [as] overhead dwells Dharmes. Do you see us or not ? Do remove our illness [*lit.*, our fever-rain taking away go], Do you not understand ? How long will you torment us [i. e., leave us in such torment ?]”

The soul of a deceased Oraon is believed to enter into the community of the *Pach-bālār* or ancestor-spirits on the annual *Aohā* Visits of dead *Benjā* ( great marriage ) or *Har-* relatives. *borā* ( bone-drowning ) day when the bones of all the Oraons of a clan

who have died in the course of the year are ceremonially drowned or deposited in the clan ossuary or *Kundī*. Until this admission into the community of its dead ancestors, a recently departed soul sometimes seeks the company of its living relatives,



But such visits, it is said, cannot last long. Many are the stories I have heard from my Oraon friends of the recently dead appearing apparently in flesh before their living relatives in their waking hours. Thus, to cite one instance, a middle-aged Oraon of the name of Bowna narrated to me the following story of his own personal experience. One winter morning his mother's cousin-brother living in a village only a few miles from his own came to Bowna's house and accosted Bowna's father Sukra, saying—"So, Bhātu (brother-in-law, you are building a new hut !" Sukra who was then actually engaged in constructing a new hut asked the guest to be seated, and, according to customary rules of hospitality, Bowna took charge of the guest's stick and gave him some tobacco-powder and lime to chew. After some conversation Bowna's mother handed a yam and a knife to her cousin and asked him to peel the yam which she wanted to boil for him. The guest took the yam, peeled it and cut it up into slices. He then went out of the house on the pretext of having to answer a call of nature. An hour and more passed by, but still the guest did not return. So Bowna and his father became anxious, went out of the house and looked about for their guest in all directions but no trace of him could be found. They then returned home and Bowna went in to see if his uncle's stick was left in the lumber-room where he had kept it over a bundle of rice. To his astonishment he found that the stick too was missing. That afternoon Bowna's mother went to a market at some neighbouring village and on meeting there

the elder brother of her morning's guest narrated to him the strange conduct of his younger brother. On this the elder brother exclaimed, "How was that ! He died yesterday." All present there at once concluded that it was the soul of the deceased which was moving about seeking the company of its living friends and relatives.

Until the annual *Hārborā* ceremony the corpse either remains buried in the village burial-ground (*masān*) or, if death has taken place before the rains, is cremated and the bones temporarily buried in the *bārī* land attached to the house of the deceased. On the annual *hārborā* day following the death, before the bones are carried to the *kundī* of the clan to be finally deposited there, either a fowl or, in the case of an old and well-to-do Oraon, a pig is sacrificed and its blood ceremonially dropped into a small excavation made in the yard in front of the deceased's hut ; and the spirits of the dead ancestors of the clan are invoked by a Panch ( an elder of the clan ) who prays,—"*Phalna* ( names ) *gotra-gāhi pāchcho pāchgi khekheḷ kia radar ; isin hu* ( or, if the deceased be a female, *idin hu* ) *sange nānke*". [ O ! male and female ancestors ( lit., old men and women ) of such-and-such ( names ) clan, you are [ dwelling ] under the earth ; do you also take him ( or, her ) into your company. ] Thenceforth the departed soul takes its place among the ancestor-spirits of the clan. Souls of all deceased persons of either sex except those of infants, pregnant women, and women dying in childbirth as well as persons bitten to death by a tiger or persons dying of small-pox

are thus ceremonially admitted to the community of the *Pach-ba'lar*.

Although the spirits of deceased members of a clan live in an underground settlement of their own near their village *Kunḍi*, they are still regarded as forming one family or clan-group with their living descendants and kinsmen whose welfare is now their special concern. They sometimes appear and speak to their living relatives in their dreams, watch over them in their sickness, and often foil the attempts of other spirits to do them harm. Not long ago the young daughter of one of my Oraon servants just returned from her husband's place became subject to hysterical fits. Her parents called in a *māti* or spirit-doctor for her treatment. And with the help of his art, the *māti* discovered that when the girl was coming from her husband's house to her parents, a *bhut* (mischievous spirit) of her husband's village followed her and would have by then made an end of her had not the *Pachba'lar* of her father's family foiled the efforts of the other spirit.

In the case of a serious illness in the family a vow is taken to offer, on recovery, a grey (*kasri*) fowl to the ancestor-spirits. On the evening of the annual *Hārborā* ceremony boiled rice and boiled pulses are laid out near the *kunḍi* on plates and in leaf cups by their descendants for the newly dead, and unboiled rice and unboiled *urid* pulses (*phaseolus roxburghii*) for the other *Pach-ba'lar*. And it is believed that the shades of the departed Oraons of the clan come out of their underground settlements at night to partake of the food provided by their descendants and relatives.

Although except the annual *Hārborā* ceremony (All Souls' Feast) there is no special religious festival at which offerings or sacrifices are made solely to the ancestor-spirits, those spirits are invoked and offerings are made to them by their living relations at every feast and on every suitable occasion. Thus at the *Sarhul*, the *Karma*, and the *Phagua* festivals, the first loaves of rice-flour bread made at most Oraon houses are broken into pieces and offered to the *Pach-bālār* spirits of the family by name—so far as their names are remembered. At the *Jitia* festival rice-gruel is similarly offered to them on six leaf-plates, two for the spirits of dead ancestors and ancestresses (*Pachcho Pachgi* or *bupha buphi*), two for the spirits of dead children, one for the spirits of deceased daughters of the family, and one for the remaining deceased members of the clan. And at the two *Nawakhāni* festivals of the year—once in the month of Sāwan (July-August) when the new *gōndli* (*Panicum miliare*) crop is first eaten and again in Bhādo or Aswin (August-September) when the new *gōrā* (upland) rice crop is first eaten,—a little of the *gōndli* or *gōrā* rice, as the case may be, besides boiled rice and vegetables, have first to be similarly offered to the 'ancestor-spirits' before their living relatives proceed to partake of them.

Again, at every meal throughout the year the orthodox Oraon, before he takes up the first morsel of food, puts down a few grains of rice from his plate and drops a little vegetable or other curry on the ground for his ancestor-spirits, without, however, invoking them by name. On being asked

why this is done, the reply generally given is that their fore-fathers have always done the same. But the more well-informed Oraons explain this as a token of gratitude to their ancestor spirits who, they say, have been providing food and clothing for their descendants thus enabling them to continue their line.

Finally, orthodoxy requires that not only should an offering of at least a few drops of water be made to the *Pachbā'lar* at every *puja* or sacrifice and at every auspicious ceremony such as a birth or a marriage, but whenever an Oraon happens to take the name of any of his deceased ancestors, the offering of a little water should be made to the spirit of such ancestor, for it may turn up unobserved in response to the call.

The Oraon does not, like his Munda neighbour, permanently instal the spirits of his dead relatives as household deities with their seats in a corner of his own hut but only temporarily accommodates them in his compound until the annual *hārborā* ceremony following their death when they are reunited to the shades of their predeceased relatives.

The Rev. P. Dehon in his article<sup>6</sup> already referred to has stated that, according to the Oraon, "a dead man has two shades, the heavy one that goes to Markha or the heaven of the Uraons, and the other one that remains among them". But all the inquiries on the point that I have made among the Oraons of Chota Nagpur for several years go to show that the Oraon has no idea of a heaven up above where the soul goes after death. Merkha (not 'Markha') is the Oraon term for the sky,

<sup>6</sup> *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* [1906], vol I, p. 135.

and the Oraon appears to have no notion of a heaven or a hell in the theological sense. The blessed abode of the souls of the duly cremated dead is not in 'heaven' or the sky but *under the earth*. Nor does the Oraon appear to have any definite notion of a man having 'two shades'. The nearest approach to such an idea that I could find in the minds of some comparatively more intelligent Oraons was the vague distinction that they made between the *jia* or physical life and *ekh* or shade or soul. Whereas of the *jia* or physical life of a dead man they would say, "it has passed away like the wind, and gone we don't know where" (*taka mānjā, eksān urkhaki kerā*), with regard to the spirit or soul all Oraons agree in saying that it becomes one of the *Pachbā'lar*, and that these reside under the earth (*khekhel kia rādar*). Perhaps the informant of the Rev. P. Dehon was one of his Oraon converts whose account of the matter was coloured with his own biblical notions.

Again, when an Oraon speaks of a 'heavy shade' or *othā ekh* and a 'light shade' or *nebbā ekh*, all that he really means is that some living men—those with 'light shades'—are more susceptible to supersensual influences, to dreams and visions of supernatural objects and beings, than those with 'heavy shades'. These expressions do not appear to have any particular reference to the 'shades' of dead persons. And the Rev. P. Dehon is mistaken in thinking that the *Chhāin Bhitarnā* ceremony or what he calls the *Korman* ceremony are respectively performed for two different 'shades'. He is further mistaken in supposing that the 'light

shade' of a departed Oraon which is conducted back to its old house by the *Chhain Bhitarna* ceremony finds in the house a permanent "resting place to remain there peacefully among its old acquaintances". As a matter of fact, by the *Chhain bhitarna* or, to give it its proper Oraon name, the *ekh-mānkhna* ceremony, the shade of a deceased Oraon is brought back to his former house to remain there only as long as it is not admitted into the community of the *Pach-bālar* by the 'utur-khilā' ceremony—the ceremony by which his relatives finally make over the soul or spirit of the dead man to the community of those of his pre-deceased relatives. Whereas the Mundas and other Munda-speaking tribes install the spirits of the dead as household deities in a corner of their huts consecrated to them as the 'āding' or 'bhitar', the Oraon only gives a temporary accommodation to the souls of his dead relatives, and that usually not inside their huts but in a portion of the compound of the house, until the next *hārborā* ceremony when the spirit is sped home to its permanent habitation under the earth (*khekhel kiā*) near the *kundi*. It appears probable that the *chhain bhitarna* ceremony has been borrowed by the Oraons from their Munda neighbours. Although such distantly allied tribes as the Khonds of Orissa and the Gonds of the Central Provinces appear to practise a similar ceremony of calling back the shades of the dead to their old homes—not improbably in imitation of their Munda-speaking neighbours such as the Savars in Orissa and the Korkus in the Central Provinces,—no analogous ceremony is known to the Rāj Mahal Pāhārias who are the nearest kinsmen to the Oraons.

Finally there appear to be good reasons to suppose that the conception of ancestor-spirits as beneficent deities is a later development with the Oraons, probably facilitated by contact with the Mundas and also perhaps with the Hindus. As I shall show in a future article on the funeral ceremonies of the Oraons, some of the rites and invocations in connection with those ceremonies would appear to indicate that their original object was to keep the spirits of the dead out of harm's way, to cut off all connection with them so as to avoid all chance of their evil attentions being directed towards their living relatives.

Although the Rev. P. Dehon appears to be in error in thinking that according to the Oraon every man has two souls one of which joins the ancestor-spirits in the deceased's house and is known as the *Pach-ba'l* and the other goes to the heaven or sky as one of what he calls the *Nasre*, as a matter of fact all departed souls appear to have been originally considered as evil spirits living under the earth—all of them though regarded as ancestor-spirits (*Pach-ba'lar*) were at one time regarded as mischievous spirits or *nasan bhuts* as well. The present division of departed souls into beneficent ancestor-spirits composed solely of spirits of persons dying a natural death whose souls alone are now regarded as *Pach-ba'lar* and maleficent or evil spirits of the dead, consisting of spirits of pregnant women or of women dying in childbirth who may become *nasan* (or destructive) *bhuts* or *Nasre*,—this differentiation of the spirits of departed souls would appear to be a later development of Oraon belief under the influence,



as it seems, principally of the Munda cult of beneficent ancestor-spirits and to some extent also perhaps of the Hindu cult of the *Pitris*.

With the Sauria Pāhārīās of the Raj Mahal Hills who believe that the souls of the dead live underground and some times reappear above the earth in the shape of a *Pōri* or willo'-the-wisp and emit a grunting sound, the avowed object of their *Pao-te-kipaw erbē* ceremony is to cut off the connection of spirits of the dead with the village of their living relatives. The *Kaip erbu majiē* or the priest who officiates at the ceremony offers fowls and liquor to the spirits of the dead on the borders of the village once a year and prays,—“From today do not enter our village”. The severed head of the fowl is left on the ground and the rest of its meat is roasted in fire and eaten on the spot by those present and no portion of the sacrifices may be taken back to the village. Whenever the phenomenon of the *ignisfatuus* or will-o'-the-wisp is seen to appear, the Sauria Pāhārīā imagines that some spirit of the dead is reappearing on the earth and apprehends the occurrence of an epidemic in the village and a hen's egg is forthwith offered on behalf of the village on the route which the *Pōri* spirit is likely to take in its approach to the village. The *Pōri* spirit is represented as having its mouth and eyes on the back of the head and its feet also turned backwards. The apprehension of the Pāhārīā that the *Pōri* spirit may cast its looks behind and turn its steps towards the village is perhaps the father of the thought or conception of the *Pōri* spirit with its eyes and feet turned backwards. In the *utur-khila*

ceremony of the Oraons this fear is expressed by the officiant of the ceremony in the words used in his address to the soul of the deceased, *Akku ning taram khan kuku ningtaram birḍrān, nekā*. "Now we are sending thee away. Now (henceforth) may [thy] eye [and] head turn thy way [and not ours"]].

*(To be continued.)*

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NOTE.—At p. 149 (bottom) it has been stated that "souls of all deceased persons except those of infants, pregnant women and women dying in childbirth as well as persons bitten to death by a tiger or persons dying of small-pox are ceremonially admitted to the community of the *Pāch-dā'lār*." This general statement may be made more specific and accurate by stating that the classes referred to are 'infants whose ear-boring ceremony has not been performed'; 'women dying in childbirth whose child was either dead in the womb or died shortly after its birth'; 'persons bitten to death by a tiger, whose tiger-spirit or *ḍāghout* has not been ceremonially expelled', and 'persons dying of small-pox whose bones have not been kept interred in the *masan* for a sufficient length of time.'

## II. ANNAM—ASSAM.

By J. H. HUTTON, C. I. E.

Captain Baudesson's book on the hill-tribes of Indo-China<sup>1</sup> will be of particular interest to such Indian anthropologists as concern themselves with the hill-tribes of Assam, for the similarities between the two are striking. The very word *Moi* used for the hill tribes of Annam seems to cover, as the word *Naga* does, a heterogeneous collection of tribes different in culture, in speech, and in racial origin. Many of the features described would apply generally to all the miscellaneous tribes inhabiting the Naga Hills area. The making of fire with a flexible thong,<sup>2</sup> cultivation by "jhuming",<sup>3</sup> the use of bellows made of two cylindrical pumps,<sup>4</sup> of noose traps for large animals with sapling springs,<sup>5</sup> of "panji"-pits,<sup>6</sup> bachelors' houses,<sup>7</sup> symbolical messages,<sup>8</sup> etc., are all as typical of the hills of Assam as they seem to be of those of Annam. When our author tells us of the scornful rejection of beads which happened not to be in the prevailing fashion,<sup>9</sup> of the suckling of children till they are three years old,<sup>10</sup> of keeping the heads of children shaved,<sup>11</sup> of the veneration of stones,<sup>12</sup> of the rejection of the flesh of certain animals from fear of acquiring their characteristics,<sup>13</sup> of the curing of illness by the "extraction" of stones from the body of the patient;<sup>14</sup> when he records that while some tribes bury their

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<sup>1</sup> *Indo-China and its Primitive People*, by Capt. Henry Baudesson. Translated by E. Appleby Holt. Hutchinson & Co. ¶<sup>2</sup> p. 17. ¶<sup>3</sup> pp. 18, 19. ¶<sup>4</sup> p. 22. ¶<sup>5</sup> p. 28. ¶<sup>6</sup> p. 29. ¶<sup>7</sup> p. 45. ¶<sup>8</sup> p. 199. ¶<sup>9</sup> p. 14. ¶<sup>10</sup> p. 68. ¶<sup>11</sup> p. 71. ¶<sup>12</sup> p. 126. ¶<sup>13</sup> p. 134. ¶<sup>14</sup> p. 155.

dead in the ground others dispose of them in trees,<sup>15</sup> or that the dialect of one village is unintelligible to the next<sup>16</sup>—in all this he might be writing of the Naga Hills themselves. Finally, when he mentions that the Moï languages are classified by Cabuton according to their affinities to the Malayo-Polynesian, to the Khmer, and to the Tibeto-Burman and Tai,<sup>17</sup> he suggests a conclusion which has already been formulated with regard to the origin of the Naga tribes<sup>18</sup>. There are among the Moï, he says, no pure races, and he attributes this in part to perpetual inter-tribal conflicts and the absorption of one tribe by another.<sup>19</sup> The parallel is a very close one, and one may infer that the gulf between the hill areas of Assam and Annam dates really from the conquest of Burma by the Burmese who now intervene. As late as the First Burmese War, the Talaings and the Karens of the plains of Burma regarded the British as deliverers.<sup>20</sup>

It is rarely that our author mentions the name of any particular Moï tribe, and one may suspect that many of the features he records apply not to the Moï in general, but to some particular tribe among them. At any rate, when such features repeat themselves in the Naga Hills, we find that

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¶<sup>15</sup> p. 176. ¶<sup>16</sup> p. 194. ¶<sup>17</sup> p. 193. ¶<sup>18</sup> The introduction to *The Lhota Nagas*, by J. P. Mills, may be referred to. I have come there to the same conclusion with regard to the affinities of the Nagas as Baudesson suggests with regard to the Moï by quoting Cabuton.

<sup>19</sup> p. 195. <sup>20</sup> Lieut. John Butler, in his *Account of the Services of the Madras European Regiment in the (First) Burmese War* mentions the friendliness of the "Talays" and "Carians", as he calls them, (p. 90). He is better known as the Major John Butler who wrote *A Sketch of Assam and Travels and Adventures in Assam*, which are two of our earliest authorities on the Naga

they are characteristic rather of a particular group than of the whole area. Thus the gourd organ is the Kuki *rottohem*,<sup>21</sup> even though it has sometimes, among the Moï, only three<sup>22</sup> pipes instead of the usual five or six.<sup>23</sup> The cross-bow<sup>24</sup> is typical, on the Naga Hills side, of those tribes in touch with the Singpho, and is virtually unknown to the Angami. The construction of the approach to the village as a dark and narrow passage through and under dense brushwood<sup>25</sup> is a method of defence employed by Kacha Nagas, who keep the path clear by wooden props, to be cut away on attack, allowing the matted thorn bushes overhead to fall into the path, itself a ravine, an impenetrable barrier to a hostile raider. The use of gun-arrows, missiles to be fired from muskets<sup>26</sup> at the wild elephant, is typical of the Angami as well as of the Moï, though the former also used the device to fire blazing arrows at the thatched roofs in Kohima fort in 1881. The use of poisoned arrows<sup>27</sup> is paralleled in the Chang, Sangtam, and Kalyo-kengyu tribes, and they too have the story of the upas tree, though whether their poison is really obtained from

\* tribes, and as the father of Captain John Butler, who was one of the first Deputy Commissioners of the Naga Hills, was killed there at Pangti, and is the best of our early authorities on the Agami Nagas. According to Baudesson, Moï=Karen.<sup>21</sup> See Col. J. Shakespear, *The Lushai-Kuki Clans*, p. 102. <sup>22</sup>p. 64. <sup>23</sup>p. 181. <sup>24</sup>pp. 9, 39. <sup>25</sup>p. 11. The Wa of Burma employ the same method, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States, Pt. I. Vol. I*, p. 504. <sup>26</sup>p. 57. <sup>27</sup>pp. 37, 38. No mention is made of any antidote to the poison. The traditional one reported by many early travellers is human ordure, taken internally. The Changs give the dung of chickens and pigs or dogs as being "the nastiest thing known," but the Dyaks have gone one worse. The 17th century Musalman historian Khāfi Khan, asserts that the *Kasaru* root (*Cyperus tuberosus*, wild) is the best remedy for wounds caused by poisoned arrows. (Quoted by Blochmann in *Kochi Bihar and Assam*, J. A. S. B., I of 1872.)

the *antiaris toxicaria*, or from *strophantus giganteus* or from aconite has yet to be ascertained. The Changs, too, unlike most of their neighbours, forbid marriage between first cousins on the mother's side (as well as on the father's), which Captain Baudesson mentions<sup>28</sup> as reported by some to be the case among the Moï. The Moï again, like the Lhota Naga, works for his wife in his father-in-law's house,<sup>29</sup> while his village polity is "a kind of anarchical republic" with an elected chief,<sup>30</sup>—whom probably no one obeys at all, if we may infer from the Angamis, whose polity the description fits exactly, though there is nothing in common with the Sema or Thado here. As among the Sema, however, the Moï widow marries her husband's heir,<sup>31</sup> and like the Thado Kuki and the Tangkhul Naga, the Moï takes oath by a diving ordeal, the one who comes up first being the false swearer.<sup>32</sup> Like the Sema too the Moï adds a horror to death by bawling into the ears of the dying,<sup>33</sup> and though our author does not say so, we may fairly presume that the purpose of the Moï also is to recall the soul of the departing relative, or at least to convince it that its departure is deeply regretted. Like the Semas also, and some Angamis, the Moïs see in a photograph the soul of its subject.<sup>34</sup>

The Moï believe firmly in the social vindictiveness of the tiger.<sup>35</sup> So do the Ao Nagas, who are emphatically convinced that if they hunt a tiger that has been killing cattle on the land of another

<sup>28</sup> p. 55. <sup>29</sup> p. 57. <sup>30</sup> p. 75. <sup>31</sup> 86. <sup>32</sup> pp. 94, 95. <sup>33</sup> p. 169. Cf. *The Sema Nagas*, <sup>34</sup> p. 186-7. <sup>35</sup> p. 133.

village, that tiger will infallibly succeed in mauling some of the hunters who have so gratuitously molested him. In another sphere rather, the adultery of a Moi wife with a fellow-clansmen of her husband is a very mild offence,<sup>36</sup> as among the Lhotas and Rengmas; while, as among the Lhotas again and the Semas, she must remain absolutely chaste while her husband is on the war-path;<sup>37</sup> doubtless her unchastity under such conditions would be almost as bad as his own, and would render him particularly vulnerable to his enemies. Like the Angami (and the Garo) the Moi young men and maidens make love in song, singing reciprocal verses.<sup>37</sup> Like the Sema, the Moi credit a mysterious but intimate connection between the toad and the god of rain.<sup>38</sup> We cannot for the moment remember which Naga tribe uses a bamboo knife to cut the navel string.<sup>39</sup> possibly all of them do.

With the Cham, a tribe professing the faith of Islam, Captain Baudesson deals separately; but here again the parallel continues close enough, and one is reminded occasionally of the Meitheis of Manipur, who themselves boast some not too strict Muhammadans among them, as well as of more essentially Naga tribes. The Cham dislike trees near their habitations,<sup>40</sup> like Semas; they use the term 'elder brother' as a mark of respect,<sup>41</sup> like Kukis; and gall as medicine,<sup>42</sup> like Angamis. Like the Semas they do not hesitate to give their offspring the most opprobrious of names,<sup>43</sup> and like the Chang they believe that their immortal soul is not the only

<sup>36</sup> p. 88. <sup>37</sup> p. 213. Cf. Playfair, *The Garos*. <sup>38</sup> p. 222. Cf. Sir J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Cf. also *The Sema Nagas*. <sup>39</sup> p. 67. <sup>40</sup> p. 229.

<sup>41</sup> p. 233. <sup>42</sup> p. 241. <sup>43</sup> p. 259.

one that inhabits the body. While the Chang, however, adds only one mortal soul to the immortal one, the Cham counts not less than eighteen mortal souls.<sup>44</sup> As with the Semas the flight of the immortal soul to its final abode is associated with the flight of a bird.<sup>45</sup> Among the Cham, we are told, suicide is extremely rare,<sup>46</sup> as it is among all known Nagas, the Lhota being a striking exception to this rule.

As with all Nagas, the Cham calender is a series of ceremonies fixed according to the agricultural year and the progress of the rice crop, the first to reap which is, as among the Tengima Angamis, an old woman.<sup>47</sup> By the Angami, it is true, these first-fruits are eaten with ceremony, but some other Naga tribes preserve the first ears cut throughout the ensuing year, like the Cham. In their selection of the ultimate resting-place for their dead close to the best rice fields<sup>48</sup> of the family there is certainly a suggestion of the motive that doubtless prompts the Kalyo-Kengyu Naga tribe to save up inside their houses all the year's dead and to dispose of them simultaneously on the first day of the sowing of the new year's crop,<sup>49</sup> the bones being collected and placed for good at the back of the family granary. So too the Cham tabu on speech when going to search for the precious 'eaglewood'<sup>50</sup> embodies the same idea as the Sema prohibition on speech when about to go a-fishing—lest the fish hear and refuse to get caught.

<sup>44</sup> p. 261. <sup>45</sup> p. 312. <sup>46</sup> p. 243. <sup>47</sup> p. 299. <sup>48</sup> p. 314. <sup>49</sup> Mr. J. P. Wills tells me that the Ao, who smoke their dead, sometimes save the corpse to be buried by exposure on a platform at the next harvest. <sup>50</sup> p. 304.



Howbeit, the Cham is no true Moï, though perhaps he was one once. Like the Manipuri, he indulges in regattas and boat-races,<sup>51</sup> and plays chess, substituting canoes for bishops as the Manipuri does for castles. Captain Baudesson does not tell us whether the Cham, like the Manipuri, doubles the black canoes, leaving the white ones single, because, as he says, the dusky man is twice the fellow the white man is. Perhaps we may suspect that in reality it is to make him so, if the explanation be not an entire fiction to assign a cause to a convention of forgotten origin. Our author does tell us that the Cham idea of washing (unlike the immaculate Manipuri here) is to beat the garment to be washed a fixed number of times against a stone, and then to desist, be it cleansed or still dirty,<sup>52</sup> since reading which we have strongly suspected the local *dhobi* of taking as his standard a fixed number not of beats but of holes.

In their folklore the Cham tell of persons invulnerable<sup>53</sup> like the Angami zhumma, only the Cham can say how invulnerability is achieved—by anointing the body with human bile. A nearer folk-lore parallel is to be found perhaps in the Moï version of the Tower of Babel story<sup>54</sup> in which, as in one Angami version, the tower is brought down with a crash owing to the stupidity or negligence of the workmen at the bottom.<sup>55</sup> Captain Baudesson is probably wrong in suggesting that this story and the Moï version of the Creation are borrowed

<sup>51</sup> pp. 238, 239. <sup>52</sup> p. 262. <sup>53</sup> p. 241. <sup>54</sup> p. 208. <sup>55</sup> *The Angami Nagas*, p. 265.

and adapted from the Biblical accounts.<sup>56</sup> The Moï, like all Nagas, have the almost universal story of the Amazons who slay their male children; only the Moï Amazons also smelt copper.<sup>57</sup>

Let it not be thought, however, that among these similarities, many of them shared perhaps by most primitive peoples, nothing occurs to show the Moï in contrast to the Naga tribes. The erection of masonry columns<sup>58</sup> may be merely a lazy substitute for that of monoliths, but the Nagas do not smelt iron,<sup>59</sup> nor do they shave their heads as a sign of mourning as the Moï do.<sup>60</sup> On the contrary, the Rengmas and some, at any rate, of the Kacha Nagas abstain entirely from cutting their hair till after the end of the year, whenever they have a death in their house. Doubtless the ultimate origin of both customs is to make it harder for the ghost to recognise the survivor. The Cham make the moon feminine,<sup>61</sup> but the Nagas, like some other Assam tribes,<sup>62</sup> not to mention the Melanesians,<sup>63</sup> make him a male, and the Sun a female who is afraid to go out in the dark. Seven, the unlucky number of the Angamis, the Moï hold to be lucky.<sup>64</sup> In the Naga Hills, in no tribe that we know of do women ordinarily inherit,<sup>65</sup> while male slaves may not. It may perhaps be inferred that this custom is the result of the subjugation of a race, whose property passed normally through the female line, by one of patri-

<sup>56</sup> Sineaton found many apparently Biblical stories among the Karens, but the dispersion of some of these and of that of the Tower of Babel would appear to be due to some source which preceded Christian Missions in the East. <sup>57</sup> p. 23. <sup>58</sup> p. 128. <sup>59</sup> p. 22. <sup>60</sup> p. 172. <sup>61</sup> p. 251. <sup>62</sup> e. g. the Daflas. So too the Andamanese, and even some of the early Scandinavians. <sup>63</sup> Frazer—*The Belief in Immortality*. I. 67. <sup>64</sup> p. 69. <sup>65</sup> p. 79.

lineal principles, a process which has probably taken place in the Naga hills and doubtless in other parts of Assam as well. What, however, is the precise significance of the Moï rule by which female children of a free woman by a prisoner of war are free, whereas male children are not?<sup>66</sup> Is it merely that girls share their mother's status and boys their father's? Among the Cham, we are told, the matrilineal system is still in force,<sup>67</sup> Musalmans though they be.

Captain Baudesson tells us that among the Moï the purpose of the institution of the bachelors' club—the *deka chang* to use the Assam expression,—is to prevent sexual relations between the young men and the unmarried girls.<sup>68</sup> If this be its intention among Nagas, it is singularly ineffectual, and indeed as Captain Baudesson admits, it is equally so among the Moï. He seems, in fact, to contradict his own statement of the object of the institution when he goes on to say that "it is not too much to say that the Moï seems to attach no importance to female chastity", meaning, it would seem, the chastity of the unmarried only. Perhaps we may be permitted to suspect that our author has jumped to a misconception as to the purpose of the *deka chang* which has been shown by Peal to be a mere survival of the communal house in which the whole community originally lived.

The most striking point of apparent contrast is the statement that only a few of the Moï groups "permit exogamy",<sup>69</sup> endogamy being *de rigueur* with

<sup>66</sup> p. 81. <sup>67</sup> p. 249. <sup>68</sup> p. 55. <sup>69</sup> p. 56.

the majority.<sup>70</sup> This seems to be so much at variance with the rest of Moï culture, that in the absence of any more detailed information one is tempted to ask whether it is not possible that there has been some misunderstanding. One of the earlier writers on the Angamis<sup>71</sup> stated that the Angami subtribes were endogamous, the mistake doubtless arising from the fact that as a general rule a man marries within his own sub-tribe owing to linguistic and geographical limitations, but always outside his own exogamous group. Whether the Moï be endogamous or not, further information as to their marriage systems would have been very welcome. The worship of Siva and the influence of Hinduism clearly reached and touched the Cham, but we may doubt if it could ever have been strong enough in that region to have imposed a system of endogamous castes on the hill tribes of Annam.

There are one or two minor passages where Captain Baudesson seems to have gone definitely wrong. For instance, he describes cotton as being soaked in rice-water.<sup>72</sup> The Angami and other Nagas steep their cotton yarn in rice-water, not to bleach it, but to give it strength and to make it bind, as the cotton from which it is spun has a short staple. Certainly it is a mistake to identify what must be the Burmese wild cattle (*tsine*) with the aurochs, and the translator's use of 'buffalo' for it is misleading. For the remarkable statement that "paddy" is "a preparation of rice" we may perhaps blame the translator alone. The absence of an index and of maps is very much to be regretted.

<sup>70</sup> p. 55. <sup>71</sup> Col. Waddell, in '*Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley*' in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Pt. III, 1900) <sup>72</sup> p. 22.

One or two general points of considerable interest are raised. Premarital license seems to be accompanied among the Mol by the killing of the first child.<sup>73</sup> We are told that under this institution a Mol girl becomes a mother to demonstrate<sup>74</sup> her fertility, and therefore doubtless her eligibility as a wife. It is again suggested that in some primitive peoples the connection between the thinking and memorizing faculties is apt to be missing, or only imperfectly established,<sup>75</sup> so that they are unable to function simultaneously, a plausible explanation of many familiar phenomena. The instance which we are given of a chief's marrying his own daughter,<sup>76</sup> which we are told is of a kind not uncommon among the Mol is interesting in view of Mr. Perry's researches on this particular point;<sup>77</sup> and the resemblances observed between the temples of the Cham and those of ancient Egypt suggest that our author is also among the Prophets. The Cham appear to have practised phallic worship at one time, and it is suggested that this is connected with that of the Khmer, of Java and of Japan.<sup>78</sup> Assam might have been added to these, but with the Cham "the *linga* is a simple cone, the *yonis* a triangular prism". Both are somewhat, though not very much more realistically presented by the Angamis of Kohima, and probably in the prehistoric monoliths of Dimapur. The use of a phallic rite—the insertion of a wooden cylinder into a cavity to secure the fulfilment of a wish,<sup>79</sup> which is expressed

<sup>73</sup> p. 55. <sup>74</sup> p. 84. <sup>75</sup> p. 197. <sup>76</sup> p. 85. <sup>77</sup> W. J. Perry, *Megalithic Culture of Indonesia*, ch. XII. <sup>78</sup> p. 217, sq. <sup>79</sup> p. 284.

while pouring a libation of spirits over the cylinder, is a not uninteresting instance of the application of phallic principles to the purposes of everyday life as distinct from the promotion of fertility.

To go back to tigers again, we are told with circumstance, and apparently with conviction on the part of the author, that a tiger which damages the ears of its victim will never return to devour it. The Lushai believes that a tiger will never eat a kill which has fallen on its left side, and a similar belief seems to be held of lions in north-east Africa.<sup>80</sup> Is it possible that animals also have tabus? It seems more likely that the idea might have originated with humans of lycanthropic propensities.

To conclude, the general similarity between the Moi tribes of Annam and the tribes inhabiting the hills between Assam and Burma is so great that we may fairly conclude that they both represent an approximately identical mixture of races and cultures, though the proportions of the ingredients doubtless differ a good deal in the two areas in question.

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<sup>80</sup>Captain Rawdon Wright, of the 3rd. Assam Rifles, writes to me as follows:—"When I was in Lungleh (Lushai Hills) a tiger killed five cows in a herd, four of which had fallen on the left side and one on the right. Only the one that had fallen on the right side was eaten. When I asked why, the Lushai told me that a tiger never ate a kill that fell on its left side. In the 'Field' of about June 1921, I saw an account of someone's shoot in Abyssinia or Somaliland—I'm not sure which,—in which it was stated that the same thing had occurred in several kills by a lion, and that the same belief was held by the natives of the country about the left side."

## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

### I. A FEW NOTES ON THE SABAKHIAS OR SWALGIRI TRIBE OF ORISSA.

By SATINDRA NARAYAN ROY, M. A., B. L.

The Sabākhiās or Swalgiris live in scattered groups in many villages in North Balasore and on the border of Midnapur District.

The Tribal name.	They were originally a wandering tribe, with no fixed home or abode like the Indian gypsies or Bediās.
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The Sabākhiās have, however, lost their roving habits and have settled down to cultivation. Their *santak* or symbol of initial is the *Mai* or harrow. They have still to some extent kept up their predatory habits and are regarded as a criminal tribe. Tradition asserts that the Sabākhiās settled down to cultivation seven generations ago, that is, roughly speaking about 150 years ago. I think the name Sabākhiā comes from the Oriya word *Sabukhiā* that is, literally, omnivores. Tortoises, inguanas, birds, rats, and jackals are their favourite food. The oldest *Swalgiris* assert that in their roving days they used to respect the cow. But this statement should be taken with a grain of salt. 'Sabākhiā' is a name given to the tribe by the Hindus, and the Sabākhiās have no other name to designate themselves. I think Swalgiri is only a glorified name given to the tribe by some Zamindars. I do not know what it actually means. Formerly they were employed by the Zamindars to guard their household against thieves and robbers.

The Sabākhiās have not yet been thoroughly Hinduised. They have not yet begun to employ a Brahman priest to officiate for them on ceremonial occasions. They do not worship any

Religion. of the numerous Hindu gods and goddesses. Some of them have

taken to planting the *tulsi* or basil plant in their homestead. They believe in ghosts and evil spirits. They also believe in the evil eye. They have bodily adopted the methods prevalent among the Hindus of laying evil spirits and propitiating the evil eye. But there is one ceremony peculiar to them which is connected with their cult of ancestor-spirits. When a man dies, he is carried out of the village and buried under the earth. If he had a *mali* or string of small wooden beads and a *ghūnshi* or waist thread on him, they are taken out and bundled up in a piece of new cloth with seeds of red sandal, and tied to a tree. These are so left there for ten days, the period of mourning among the Sabākhiās. If the deceased had no *mali* and *ghūnshi* on him, they are purchased from the bazar and treated in the aforesaid manner. When the period of mourning is over, the bundle is taken to the house and tied up in the dwelling room. A new earthen pot, *kalsi*, is placed underneath, filled with water and smeared with vermilion. A goat is sacrificed. After it is skinned, half its flesh is burnt as an offering to the spirit. The rest is cooked, and half of the cooked meat is again burnt as an offering to the spirit. The other half is partaken of by the members of the family. The spirit in the bundle is supposed to keep an eye over the house-



hold all along. If the deceased is a female, a cocoanut is burnt as an offering to her spirit. Women are not allowed to take this goat's flesh or cocoanut because it has been offered to the spirit. If a married woman is accused of unchastity, a *panch* is called by the husband. The *panch* summon her seducer and seek to persuade him to make a confession. If both the woman and her seducer do not make a confession but protest their innocence, the *Panch*, as a last resort, bring down the bundle of the spirit and open it up before them. A handful of sandal-wood seeds is taken from the bundle and placed aside. These seeds are then counted. If the number of seeds turn out to be even, the woman is adjudged innocent, if, on the contrary, it turns out to be an odd number she is adjudged guilty. In this procedure of the ordeal, there is a good deal of the rough and ready justice which we see among all primitive people. It must be stated that very few women go through the length of the ordeal of the bundle of spirit. Most women break down at the outset. At every birth or marriage this bundle of the spirit is worshipped. The spirit is the guardian of the household. Whenever the family is in difficulty or trouble the spirit of the bundle is evoked. The *Sabakhiās* have adopted a Hindu name for their household spirit. They call it *Joya Bejoya*. Beyond this spirit-worship they have no other form of religious observance. The Sun and the Moon which are often the objects of primitive worship have no charms for the *Sabākhiās*. Neither have they their own legend of the creation. As a primitive tribe they used to roam hither and thither

and had no fixed abode. They used to settle down in a village for a few months and then they decamped without any ostensible reason. But their roving propensities are now all gone. They have settled down permanently like other cultivators. They have, however, still retained the simplicity of their ancestors.

The Sabākhiā bridegroom has to promise to the bride's father a bride-price of fifteen rupees out of which Rs. 10 is paid down in cash and the rest is paid at the time of the 'second marriage' when the girl on attaining puberty goes to live with her husband. This custom ensures the bride's expenses of going over to her husband's house at the time of this 'second marriage'. The Sabākhiās marry early. The marriageable age of the bridegroom is generally seven, and that of the bride is generally five. The amount of the bride-price, as they call it, is fixed and is never raised. Previously the bride-price was payable in *kauris*, but somehow or other it has been converted into fifteen rupees. They cannot recall exactly when it was so converted. It is just possible that the conversion took place in the forties of the last century, when *kauris* began to go out of the market.

The Sabākhiās have no rules of succession peculiar to them. They have adopted the ordinary Hindu Law of Succession. Daughters do not ordinarily inherit the father's property. Widow marriage is allowed. A married woman may abandon her husband and marry another man. But cases of

voluntary abandonment are very rare now-a-days. The bride-price for a widow is ten rupees. The whole of it is payable in cash. There are no caste distinctions among the Sabakhiās.

A scattered community like the Sabakhiās have up till now preserved a language of their own, although it has suffered awfully from intermixture. They can speak Oriya fluently and also a sort of broken Bengali, but their mother-tongue is still a living language. It is not possible to risk an opinion about it with a very meagre acquaintance. All that can be said is that there is a distinct admixture of Hindi. I quote below a few Sabakhiā words and sentences as specimens of their mother-tongue.

Boiled rice = *Lahardu*; Fried rice = *Bhugra*; curry = *Halem*; Salt = *Mithu*; Father = *Aga*, Brother = *Bhai*; Sister = *Bahani*, Mother = *Ay*; Sun = *Danta*; Moon = *Ijhali*; Jack fruit = *Kahantar*; Fish = *Stachli*; Brass utensil = *Taklu*; Hatua or Hindu castes = *Manakh*; woman = *Mānshi*; Goat = *Bakhri*; Jackal = *Lahari*; Marriage = *Jhā ghar*; Vermilion = *Khāndur*; Grass = *Fu*; Dog = *Lundia*; Oil = *Tel*; Turmeric = *Haldar*.

I go = *Mu henda*.

I went = *Mu giata*.

I shall go tomorrow = *Kāl mu jāis*.

Let us go home = *Henda apana ghera jaya*.

The child was drowned in water = *Panima charu dobigu*.

Going to a relative's house = *Bandhuba jasu*.

Come after four days = *Chardan bad āis*.

Boy, go to the plough = *Langta jao ra churā*.

The pigeon is walking on the *pucca* roof = Perua  
puccapar khālāhenda.

The sparrow twitters = Charkari akher.

The Dal tastes will = Dal khai lāga.

Smoke tobacco = Garaku pia.

The Indian corn is taken after being purchased at  
the *hat* = Māka asha khasu hāttal.

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## II. A FEW TRADITIONS REGARDING THE ORIGIN OF TAMARIA CLANS.

By DEVENDRA NATH SAMANTA TAMARIA, B. A.

The *Tamarias* are a section of the Mundas of Chota Nagpur whose ancestors, a few generations ago separated from the main body of the Mundas now occupying the Ranchi District and migrated to the neighbouring district of Singhbhum. These Tamaria Mundas, now generally known simply as *Tamarias*, retain certain traditions and customs partly or wholly forgotten by the Mundas of the Ranchi district or Chota Nagpur *proper*. Among the principal Munda clans or septs met with among the *Tamarias* of the Singhbhum district the following may be mentioned; the *Samad* or *Samanta*, the *Charad*, the *Sili*, the *Rantai*, the *Bukru*, the *Nagari*, the *Diuri*, the *Telenga*, the *Pandu* *bing* or *Nag*, the *Kamal*, the *Sandi*, and the *Tufi*. Almost every clan or *gusti* (as the *Tamarias* call it in imitation of the Hindus) is subdivided into more than one *gusti*. Thus the *Samad* or *Samanta* *gusti* is sub-divided into *Singi-Samad* and *Nida Samad* *gustis*, the *Charad* into *Charad* and *Butkud*; the *Sili* or *Sulanki* into *Sili*, *Tufuki* and *Kanchan*; the *Rantai* into *Tamaria*, *Rantai* and *Bota*; the *Bukru* into *Mailda*, *Budae-jāng cho*, *Bukru*, *Dutu Hurud* and *Tawa Keronj*; and the *Naguri* into *Takra*, *Naguri*, *Satrangi*, *Dunguri* and *Kana Baruhatu*, and the *Diuri* into *Diuri*, *Sadom Lopa Diuri* and *Koronjo-Kofe*.

The origin of the *Samad gusti* is given as follows:—The ancestor of the clan with those of other *gustis* went a-hunting. The meat of the game killed was equally distributed among the different *gustis* that took part in the hunt. The ancestors of the *Samad* clan were considerable in number, and so the meat that fell to their share had again to be cut into smaller pieces with an axe. The act of cutting in this manner is called *Sama* by the Tamarias and thus these cutters of the meat came to be called *Samads*.

The traditional origin of the different subdivisions of the *Samad* clan is as follows.

A child of a man of the *Samad gusti* died, and its *umbul ader* (calling back the shade to the house) ceremony was performed on the  
The Nida Samad. tenth day after death, on a dark  
Clan. night. The performers of the

ceremony called the spirit of the deceased to accompany them to the house of the latter when a man concealed in a bush responded to the call with the intention of frightening the performers. At this response the party were greatly frightened. As the ceremony was performed at night (*nida*) the father of the dead man and his descendants came to be called the *Nida Samad* clan.

A few days later the second brother also lost his child. But he performed the *umbul ader* ceremony of his child by day (*singi*), for  
The Singi he was afraid to do that at night.  
Samad Henceforth he and his descendants  
Clan. were known as the *Singi Samad*  
clan.

The traditional origin of the *Charad gusti* and the *Butkud gusti* is related as follows:—Once on a rainy day in the course of their migrations the ancestors of the clan had to encamp for a night on both the banks of a river. The people on one of the banks were warming themselves round a fire, while their brethren on the other bank were shivering with piercing cold. The river was in flood and could not be crossed. The party shivering with cold asked the party enjoying the warmth of the fire on the opposite bank of the river to supply them with fire. The request was complied with and a brand of fire was supplied, but this brand of fire would burn with great difficulty. As such a brand is called *Butkud* in the Tamaría dialect of Mundari, the people who supplied this *Butkud* brand thenceforth came to be known as the *Butkud gusti* and their descendants are so known to this day. The shivering party made fire with the help of the *Butkud* brand. The fire began to burn brightly and the people warming themselves by the fire began to experience a kind of sensation known as *charad* in the Tamaría dialect. As they experienced the *charad* sensation they began to be called the *Charad gusti*. The *Charad* regarded the *Butkud* as their *bhāyads* for they received such help from them. Thus intermarriage between the *Charad* and the *Butkud* came to be regarded as wrong.

The legend of the origin of the *Bukru gusti* is as follows:—

Once upon a time, people belonging to several

*gustis* went a-hunting. When meat of the game was being distributed equally among all the *gustis*, the men of a particular *gusti* expressed their desire to have something more than their proper share. The habit of doing so is called *bukru* in the Tamaria dialect. Thus the people who asked for more meat than had fallen to their shares began to be known as the *Bukru gusti*.

The legend of the origin of some of the sub-divisions of the *Bukru gusti* is interesting. The story goes that a *Bukru* man had two wives—one of whom was a Tamaria Munda woman while the other was a Barāi (weaver) woman. Unfortunately he lost two children, one by each wife in the course of one week. The bones of the deceased were carried to the clan ossuary (*sasan*) for burial. The bones of the child born of the Barāi woman were gorgeously decorated while those of the child by the Tamaria woman were without decoration. People at the *Sasan* or burial-ground mistook the decorated bones for those of the child born of the Tamaria woman and so they kissed (*cho*) them first. People who committed this mistake were called the *Barāi-jang cho Bukru*, i. e. *Bukru* who kissed the bones of a child born of a Barāi woman. Their descendants are still known as men of the *Barāi-jang cho Bukru* clan.

The legend relating to the sub-divisions of the *Diuri gusti* is as follows :—

The Tamarias consider it beneath their dignity to bury a dead horse with their own hands.

Unfortunately a pony belonging to



The Diuri      a certain family of the Diuri *gusfi*  
 Clan.            died. As no low-class Ghasi was  
                      available in the neighbourhood,

the family was compelled to bury the carcass of the horse themselves though it was considered beneath the dignity of a Tamaria to do so. Thenceforth the people who performed this detestable office and their descendants came to be known as the *Sadôm-tôpâ Diuri* clan. The *Sadôm-tôpâ Diuri* men are looked down upon as of low birth by other Tamarias. The traditional origin of the *Kamal* or (lotus) *gusfi* is related as follows :—

Once on a time some Tamarias went into a forest for the purpose of hunting. There they killed some deer and other eatable animals. When the meat of the animals was distributed amongst the hunting party, a man kept the meat that had fallen to his share on a *kamal* or lotus leaf. As he kept the meat on a *kamal* leaf he came to be known as belonging to *Kamal* clan. No Tamaria of the *Kamal gotra* will pluck a lotus leaf or lotus flower.

The story of the origin of the well-known *Nag*  
*gusfi* or, to give it its real Mundari

The Pandu Bing name, the *Pandû bing* clan is as  
 or Nag Clan. follows :—

Once on a summer day, a Tamaria woman went to a river to fetch water. There was none at home to look after the babe which the mother had left behind at home. The mother having bathed in the river filled her earthen pitcher with water. She then placed it over her head and hastened home. On returning home she found, to her astonishment, a cobra or Nâg serpent or *Pandû bing* (white

serpent ) protecting the babe, which was sitting on the courtyard, from the heat of the Sun. by expanding its hood over the head of the babe. At the sight of the mother the Nāg serpent is said to have disappeared. As the babe was protected by a Nāg serpent, the descendants of the babe came to be called the men of the Nāg *gusṭi*. No member of the *Nag gusṭi* will injure a Nāg serpent.

*Transformation of gusṭi names.*—In many cases, the Hinduised Tamārias of the district of Singhbhum have altered their *gusṭi* names almost beyond recognition. Thus the name of the *Samad gusṭi* has been changed into *Samanta gusṭi* in order to give it a respectable Hindu appearance. In the same way the *Sili gusṭi* has changed its name into *Solanki gusṭi*, the name of a Hindu Rajput clan. The name of the *Sandil gusṭi*—a *gusṭi* or clan name common to many genuine Hindu families and said to be derived from Sandilya Rishi,—is in so much favour with the semi-Hinduised Tamārias of the district of Singhbhum that instances have been known in which a Tamāria of the *Sandil gusṭi* has married in the same *gusṭi*. And no wonder, as, in fact, this new *gusṭi* name has been adopted by families belonging to several originally distinct *gusṭis* such as the Diuri, the Charad, the Butkud, and a few others. A curious instance of the transformation of a *gusṭi* name is that of the Naguri and the Rantai into the Nāg *gusṭi*. This clan name is also in so much favour with the semi-Hinduised Tamārias of the Singhbhum district that instances have been known in which a Tamāria of the Nag

*gusti* has married in the same *gusti*. This evidently shows that this new *gusti* name has been adopted by families belonging to several originally distinct clans.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### *The Mons of Burma.*

The Mons are an interesting historical race to study. I have traced their origin to Monghyr in Bihar. My theory is as follows:—

Several millenniums ago, not less than 6 or 7000 years, some hardy Mongoloid races who occupied Mongyul district in Tibet found their way across the Himalayas to the hilly tracts of the North East of India and found the kingdom of Mon-ghir ( Mon hills ). I don't know what "gyul" in Tibetan means. Some of these Mons penetrated into the Central Provinces by the name of Mon-das ( Mundas ) before they were driven to the hills of the Central Provinces by the Aryans. This will account for the affinity of Mundas of the Central Provinces with the Mons of Burma as discovered by Sir George Grierson. So far I have traced only one common word "ba" = "two" between the Mundas and the Mons of Burma. About 5000 years ago Monghirians followed in the wake of Purnians in their respective waves of migration eastward to the source of the Irrawaddy. In the course of this double migration by stages some, no doubt, settled down as Pru-Mons—(Chinese P'lo-man) ( Pru being the first syllable of Purnia with a metathesis). Prus and Mons sometimes intermarried and sometimes lived apart. Pru-Mons finally became Assamese with additional mixture of blood with aboriginal tribes of the lands in which they settled down. On their onward march, some of the

Pru-Mons had no doubt married Naga men and women of the Serpent race. This would account for the prevalence of the myths of some of our kings born of eggs laid by female Naga or Dragon married to human beings both among the Burmans ( Pru-Mons ) and the Mons.

The generations that passed on settled down in Mon-( i )-pur ( city of Mons ). The modern derivation of Manipur as the City of Gems is scholastic. Here Mons seem to have preponderated. The Manipuris carried their guardian spirit in a basket generally seen hung up in their houses. I don't know the name of the Manipuri guardian spirit. But the Mons of Burma have a spirit basket dedicated in each house to the guardian spirit of Magari ( the unmistakable corruption of Mon-giri ). The Burmans ( Pru-Mons ) also worship this Magari as their household spirit. The Prus left behind isolated stragglers as Mros, Mro(m)s and Mru(m)s of Arakan and Marus of Upper Burma on their track. The Prus pressed onward across the river Irrawaddy From these first settlers or colonists of Purnians, the Burmans got their word "Punna" for a Brahman. A Brahman was never known as Brahmana in Burma. Pagan was at one time known as Punnagama (Village of Purnians).

While the Prus migrated down to Lower Burma through Central Burma on the left bank of the Irrawaddy River the Mons seem to have come down the Chhindwin valley. In the Tamu township of the Upper Chindwin District bordering on Manipur the Mon custom of courting girls from underneath the house still prevails to this date. Mon-ywa

( Mon village ) on the Chindwin River appears to have been a very important settlement of Mons. But there must have been Pru-Mons ( Burmans ) and Prus in intercourse with them round the country. For about 16 miles across the river the earliest rock-cut temples of Po-wun-daung were cut by the Pru-Mon mason architects after the model of the Babara cave in Bihar, before the 8th or 9th century A. D., if not earlier. The Mons on coming to the junction of the Chindwin River with the Irrawaddy advanced southward through western Burma along the right bank of the Irrawaddy. The Banks of the Mon River and the Man River must have been dotted with Mon settlements. But here again Mons and Prus seem to have lived together peaceably in some villages as in Mon-Pru ( now *Minbu* ) on the borders of the Pru territory,—Pru-Mon, Pruma-Prama—B(r)ama, the Bramhadesh of the Mahābhārata of 4000 years ago. The Chinese ceased to apply the name P'loman to Upper Burma and in the 8th and 9th centuries A. D. restricted the term to Manipur and Assam. Bihar was known to the Arab travellers of the 8th and 9th centuries as Balhara with Monghir as its capital. A merchant prince of Balhara fell in love with the daughter of King Kyanzittha in Pagan in the 12th Century.

Those of the Mons who refused to coalesce with Prus into Pru-Mons ( Burmans ) penetrated into the plains of Lower Burma, beyond Sre-khestra known as Pru-ywa ( village of Prus ). Those Mons who reached the plains of Lower Burma called

themselves Mon-nea ( Little Mons ). The Reh-Mon-nes ( the country of Little Mons )—Burmese Ramanna or the Rhomay of the Arab travellers of the 8th and 9th centuries A. D.—was divided into and three provinces of Mondes, Mondang and Mondu, corresponding probably to Bassein, Pegu and Martaban ( including Thaton ) respectively.

Now I would ask some reader of this Journal to help me in my researches. When was the Babara cave in Bihar built? Is there any affinity, linguistic or ethnic, between the people of Mon-gyul in Tibet and the Monghirians? Could you trace any of the following customs and beliefs of the Mons of Burma among the Tibetans, Monghirians, Mondas, Parnians, Assamese, Nagas and Manipuris?

(A) *Spirit worship.*

Mons worship their guardian spirit called Magari or Mahari in a spirit basket suspended from the South-east post of the house. The spirit basket contains 7, 15 or 19 bamboo tubes. The last number is never exceeded. If a person is sick the medium suggested 7; if a second person is sick the number is increased to 15; if a third person is sick to 19.

(B) *Houses.*

Their houses face North. They use an odd number of steps, the two flank poles of which are uneven. They never sleep with heads towards North or West.

(C) *Courtship.*

Young men court girls from below the house, in the floor of which is a small hole for putting their hands through.

When they see a tortoise they must kill it

for offering to the guardian spirit and eat it. Otherwise they must denounce it as "rotten". It is said that some clan spirits do not like tortoise. This is probably connected with totemism. What is the totemism of the Tibetans, Mondas, Monghirians, Assamese and Manipuris?

In the spirit dance those who take part move round and round three times in the opposite direction to the hand of a clock.

(D) *Marriage.*

The Mon bridegroom asks his tutelary god to give him a pair of buffaloes and hat (for agricultural operations) and a flute to please the animals by playing as an ordinary cowherd does. As the buffaloes may be dangerous to the safety of the audience present at the marriage ceremony, a snake-banded fish is substituted for the buffalo. A piece of bent split bamboo is inserted in the head to represent horns. The fish is dragged to the house of the bride. The bride's house has three pots round which the bridegroom walk—three times in the opposite direction to the hands of a clock.

If the fish is dead, it is cooked, offered to the spirit and eaten. If not, it is let go. (Some however hit it on the head and eat it after cooking and offering it to the spirit). This custom seems to be peculiar to Peguan Mons who were and are still an agricultural people.

(E) *Death.*

When a person (male or female) dies, he or she is given white loose trousers, probably pointing to the original dress in their native home. When any blood-relation dies, his body is moved out



of the house by the North side. In the case of others not so related he is moved by some other side. The body is not put in the coffin till it reaches the ground. An even number of steps is used in the ladder for the dead. The body is first taken towards the West, then to the North. The cemetery is on the North. The body is preceded by the eldest son in the case of the deceased father or by the youngest daughter in the case of the deceased mother, or failing them by the next of kin carrying a ghost tray or bowl (a ghost of a dead person is being symbolised by a butterfly). The body is moved with feet towards the cemetery. After the funeral ceremony the body is moved round and round three times in the opposite direction to the hands of a clock. Then the head is turned towards the North before the body is finally laid in the grave with a piece of two or four anna bit for ferry fare. The ghost tray is brought back to the house where it is kept for seven days.

Do some of these not suggest that they originally migrated from the North where trousers were worn?

I said "ba" in Mon means "two". This "ba" is peculiar to them. It is "b" pronounced with closed lips drawn in a little before opening. I noticed "Mihor", "Bahor" in Santali gramophone records.

Do the Mundas of the Central Provinces pronounce this "b" in this peculiar way? Is this peculiarity noticed among the Tibetans, Monghians, Purnians, Assamese and Manipuris also?

Again, the Mons of Burma have the habit of swallowing up the first syllable of a word, so that

the inward breath in the act of swallowing gives rise to "h" sound in which the language of Mons abound, a. g., 'gi-tu-hatu'; 'gamlang-hatarg'; 'jannok-hanok'. Is this peculiarity too noticed among the peoples I have just mentioned?

MG. SWE. ZAN AUNG, B. A., T. M.

*Deputy Commissioner, Thaton (Burma).*

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## NOTES AND NEWS.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science held its annual meetings from September 6 to September 18 at Hull. Section H (Anthropology) was presided over by Mr. H. J. E. Peake. He briefly reviewed the progress in anthropological research and in anthropological method during the last eleven years, defined the scope of the science, and urged that civilization was in danger particularly owing to the alienation of the peoples of Asia and the near East. He advocated the removal of ill-feeling by the sympathetic study of one another's culture and recommended greater attention by anthropologists to the study of more civilized peoples, particularly in China and the Far East, India and the European region, and urged the necessity for the establishment of a School of Research in India similar to the existing school of archaeology at Athens and Rome. The time had come, he said, when we should focus attention on the ultimate goal of our science. During the last ten or twelve years a change had been creeping over the science, and the outlook had altered.

Twelve years ago anthropologists in England, with scarcely an exception, were devoting their energies to tracing out the evolution of customs, institutions, and material culture, assuming in all cases that where similarities were found in different parts of the world, they were due to independent origins and development. It was assumed that the

workings of the human mind were everywhere similar, and that, given similar conditions, similar customs and culture would originate and develop on the same lines. The evolution was looked upon as a single line of advance, conditioned by the unalterable nature of the human mind, and that barbarian and savage cultures were but forms of arrested development and indicated very closely past stages in the history of civilized communities.

But during the last twelve years a fresh school of thought had come into prominence. According to this new view discoveries were made but once and when resemblances were found between the cultures of different communities, even though widely separated, that was due to some connexion between them, however indirect. According to the new school of thought, development of civilization had been proceeding by many different paths, in response to as many types of environment but these various advances had frequently met, and from the clash of two cultures had arisen another often different, more complex and usually more highly developed than either of its parents.

The old school looked upon the advance of cultures as a single highway, along which different groups had been wandering at varying paces so that, while some had traversed long distances, others had progressed but a short way. The new school, on the other hand, conceived of each group as traversing its own particular way but that the paths frequently met, crossed or coalesced, and that where the greatest number of paths had joined, there the pace had been quickest.

The older school, basing its views of the development of civilization on the doctrine of evolution, called itself the evolutionary school. The newer, while believing no less in evolution, felt it a duty to trace out minutely the various stages through which each type of civilization had passed by independent inquiry, rather than to assume that these stages had followed the succession observable elsewhere but, as historical factors form a large part of its inquiry, it had been termed the historical school.

These tendencies had led the anthropologist to inquire more fully into the history of peoples whose civilization he was studying. Geographers, sociologists, and economists had all shown an increasing interest in the subject. Students of the classical languages had been losing in popularity, but from 1890 onwards had turned to anthropology with great advantage both to themselves and to anthropologists.

Continuing, Mr. Peake said that anthropology was to be defined as the study of the origin and evolution of man and his works, but it must be realised that the works of men's brains were as important, even more important, than the work of men's hands. The study of backward peoples had still great value, but anthropologists should not concentrate exclusively on those lowly cultures. They were giving up the belief that such people were human fossils which had preserved their ancestral types alive to the present day. The time had come when more attention should be given to the conditions of more civilised people, and especially

to the civilisations of China and the Far East, of Hindustan and of the European area

For many years past there had been institutions at Athens and at Rome where carefully chosen students spent several years studying the ancient and modern conditions of those cities and their people. By that means a small but well-selected group of Englishmen had returned home well informed not only as to the ancient, but as to the modern conditions of Greece and Italy, and familiar with the modern as well as with the ancient languages. He could not help feeling that a similar institution in India, served by a sympathetic and well-trained staff, to which carefully selected university men might go for a few years of post-graduate study, would go far towards removing many of the misunderstandings which were causing friction between the British and the Indian peoples.

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## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the July ( 1922 ) number of *MAN*, Lt. Colonel J. H. Hutton describes a new type of snare known both to the Sema Nagas who call it "akwegen" and the Thado Kukis who call it "toupel". "The principle, as usual, is that of the bow. The string is doubled and is attached to the stave at the lower end in the usual way by means of a notch. At the upper end, however, this double string is not attached to the stave but runs through a hole in the stave. Thus is the end formed into a loop by the doubling of the string, and the doubled string is lightly knotted about 5 inches below this looped end. Attached to the back of the stave is a peg about 5 inches long ending in a long thorn at right angles to the peg, of which it forms a natural part. To set the snare, the string is pulled through the hole till the knot is through, when the peg is inserted in the hole under the knot, the pull on which holds it in place. The loop made by the string above the knot is spread over the peg, and a live insect is impaled on the thorn of the peg. The Thado Kukis seem to use a seed as the lure instead of an insect. "When the snare is set, the bow is hung on the branch a tree or shrub, which passes through the upper angle made by the string with the stave." "When a bird, attracted by the insect's flutterings, alights on the peg, its weight dislodges the peg from the hole, and the bow is sprung, drawing the loop against the stave with the legs of the bird confined between the end of the loop and the back of the bow".

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In the August ( 1922 ) number of *MAN*, Lt. Col. J. H. Hutton describes a method of dividing and decorating heads taken from enemies as trophies by certain Naga tribes not described before. "In addition to complete skulls adorned with mithan or with buffalo horns, or with wooden imitations of these," Lt. Col. Hutton found a combination of these methods in a recent visit to an independent Ao village. He found that "many houses had trophies hung up in which the skull was only partly human, the taker having only got a share of the head," the rest of the head in such cases being "made of wood, or else from the skull of some animal, in one case that of a pig," while in another the missing half was "ingenuously fabricated from two skulls of the black gibbon (*hylobates huluk*), making the skull look as if it had three eyes". "The object of the horns is said to be to prevent the dead man's hearing the call of his friends searching for him, as, if his soul were to go to them, it would instigate them to revenge, whereas if it remain with the taker of the head, it lures its late relations to put themselves within reach of the possessor of the head and lose their own to him as well. Some of the Ao villages used to attain the same end by stringing the skull of one of their own dogs above the skull of their enemy. The soul of the dog made such a barking whenever the strange relations of the dead man were within call of him, that he never heard them imploring his soul to return." "Changs and Konyaks alike attach particular value to heads of rich or brave men, which they regard as bringing riches or



bravery to the possessor, and which they affirm to be thicker and harder to cut than those of the common folk". "Heads taken in raids are buried face downwards by the Angami tribe, hung up in trees outside the village on dead bamboos by the Sema, on the *mingethung* or village head-tree by the Lhota tribe, and in *morungs* or in private houses by Ao, Phom and Konyak tribes".

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In the September (1922) number of *MAN*, Capt. A. M. Hocart compares the well-known conception of Polynesian *Mana* with the Indian notion of 'iddhi' which, like *mana*, means "miraculous power". The Pali term *iddhi* is derived from Sanskrit *riddhi* which means "success, prosperity, supernatural powers". Like *mana*, *iddhi* is associated with kings, and there is a special compound *rajiddhi* in the Pali language meaning "the king's miraculous power". Pali has also another word for miraculous power, namely *anubhava*, = thought, perception, and also dignity, authority, magic power which is frequently used in connection with *iddhi*, and the compound *iddhanubhava* occurs. As Indian influence extends as far as Indonesia to the East, and the word *mana* as far as Madagascar to the West, no one has the right to deny that the conception of *mana* is derived from the same source as that of *iddhi*. Indeed it is quite possible that the word *mana* is of Indian origin. Sanskrit *manas* means "mind," Malay *manuh* means the same. But, says Captain Hocart, "if we compare the Indian with the Polynesian idea in the case before us, we shall conclude that the Polynesian is the more archaic,"

for whereas *mana* "has practical results," "destroys enemies, procures good hauls of fish, good crops, and victory in war," "*iddhi*, on the other hand, manifests itself mostly in miracles that merely excite wonder and satisfy the popular appetite for the marvellous, but has no practical consequences, unless it be the conversion of astonished unbelievers." "*Iddhi* is dead and fossilised. *Mana*, on the other hand, is a living conception." Again, "the Indian view cannot be traced to the South Seas; but the South Sea notion of *mana* has been shown to occur in the old literature of India." "Lastly, the etymology of the Indian word leads us back to those ideas of prosperity and success which are essential in every definition laid down by Polynesians and Melanesians".

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In the September (1922) number of the *FOLK-LORE*, in a paper on "Tangkhul Folk Tales and Notes on some Festivals of the Hill Tribes South of Assam", Col. J. Shakepear gives a few folk tales of the Tangkhuls—one of the Naga-Kuki sub-group of the Naga group of Assam,—and also a short account of a series of progressive feasts among the Maringa of the Manipur valley, by the giving of which feasts a Maring obtains social consideration in this world and greater comfort in the next. The writer mentions circumstances that indicate that these feasts though meant for the glorification of the individual are really clan feasts, probably 'fertility feasts'. These folk-tales and feasts have their analogues among several other Assam tribes from Demagiri on the south to the Brahmaputra

on the north and 'the strange streak of similarity running through them all' is believed to point to the fundamental unity of a number of tribes which are only superficially different.

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The same number of the *FOLK-LORE* contains a note from Lt. Col. J. H. Hutton on the use of different varieties of the bow by Naga tribes. According to the writer, generally speaking "the bow was not a weapon naturally resorted to by Nagas, who prefer the throwing-spear, and was unknown to or unused by a very large proportion of them."

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The same number of the *FOLK-LORE* publishes a communication from Rev. F. Kilbey (Sohagpur, Central Provinces, India) about *The Corn Baby in India*, called in the Central Provinces *Chitkuar* (from *Chait*, the harvest month, and *kuar* or *kumar*, a son). It is prepared in the following way. When the field is all but reaped two or three ears of grain are plucked from the remaining standing grain. The grain is pressed out of the ears, and scattered among the standing corn. The standing corn remaining is then reaped, and bunches for the *Chitkuar* made. A cocoanut is then broken, and a piece of it offered on a small fire with *ghee*, or clarified butter. A little *chāna* or gram and wheat are brought from the house, a small portion of a bunch is thrown into the fire, and the remainder eaten by the worshipper. The *Chitkuar* is then taken to the threshing-floor, and after the grain is all winnowed, they take the grain from the ears

of the bunch forming the Chit-kuar and boil it, and after worshipping the threshing floor, eat the boiled grain. This latter ceremony takes place at the time of the Amāvasya, or day of the new moon, in the month of Jyesth [ May—June ].

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In the July number of *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* ( Bangalore ), Mr. S. C. Mitra contributes a paper on. "Some vestiges of the custom of offering Human sacrifices to Water spirits".

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## REVIEW OF BOOKS.

### The Andaman Islanders :

*A study in Social Anthropology* By A. R. BROWN, M. A. (University Press, Cambridge, 1922) pp. xiv+504. Price 40 s. net.

The volume before us is one of the most valuable ethnographical publications of recent times. A most interesting and quite a novel feature of the book is its second half which is taken up with the author's interpretation of Andamanese customs and beliefs, myths and legends, so fully and accurately described in its first half. Our author is well equipped for the task he has undertaken, and has discharged it with considerable skill and ability.

Every student of social anthropology who has acquired his training by actually living with and working amongst one or more primitive peoples must have felt, as our author does, that in this science, as in others, if progress is to be made, the elaboration of hypotheses and observation and classification of facts must be carried on as inter-dependent parts of one process, and no advantage, but rather great disadvantage, results from the the false division of labour whereby theorists and observers work independently and without systematic co-operation. We have always felt, as our author does, that the most urgent need of ethnology at the present time is a series of investigations like that attempted in the book under review, "in which the observation and the analysis and interpretation of the institutions of some one primitive people are

carried on together by the ethnologist working in the field". Few arm-chair anthropologists can appreciate the inner significance of the customs and beliefs of a backward tribe as fully and accurately as can the careful and experienced field anthropologist who lives in daily contact with the people themselves. Every field anthropologist will recall to mind instances in the works even of reputed anthropologists that bear convincing testimony to Mr. Brown's assertion that "attempts to interpret the beliefs of savages without any first-hand knowledge of the people whose beliefs are in question, are at best unsatisfactory and open to many possibilities of error".

In his interpretation of Andamanese customs and beliefs, our author takes as his guiding principle the idea that "every custom and belief of a primitive society plays some determinate part in the social life of the community," and "the explanation of each single Andamanese custom is proved by showing what is its relation to the other customs of the Andamanese and to their general system of ideas and sentiments." That system of ideas and sentiments in the case of the Andamanese, rests, according to Mr. Brown, on the notion "that the world is the arena of a continual struggle of forces present in the society itself, in each individual, in the substances that are used for foods and materials, in fire, in storms and sunshine, and in the spirits and bones of the dead." We are told that "for the Andaman Islander the social life is a process of complex interaction of powers or forces present in the society

itself, in each individual, in animal and plants and the phenomena of nature, and in the world of spirits, and on these powers the well-being of the society and its members depends." "The ceremonial of the Andaman Islanders may be said to involve the assumption of a power of a peculiar kind. This power, though in itself neither good nor evil, is the source of all good and all evil in human life. All occasions of special contact with it is dangerous, i. e., subject to ritual precautions."

We are delighted to find in this book an emphatic recognition of the notion of 'powers' or 'energy' (*Sakti*) behind all primitive customs and belief. This emphasis on the notion of 'power' (and all power is in essence spiritual) may appear 'revolutionary' to some anthropologists but this idea of 'power' or 'energy' is often indeed the first thing that impresses an Oriental student of primitive society.

Thus, in an article on *Magic and Witchcraft on the Chota Nagpur Plateau:—A study in the Philosophy of Primitive life*, published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, ( July-December, 1914 ) the present writer wrote :—  
 "To him (*the Chota Nagpur aboriginal*) things are not what they seem ; everything, animate or inanimate, in this visible universe is to him merely the receptacle.....of a spiritual energy ; and man's sole concern is with this world of spiritual energies or powers....It is not only every human being, nor merely all that we call living beings, but, in fact, all things either created by God or made by the hand of man, and even such immaterial things as the spoken word, an expressed wish, a passing thought or emotion, a magic formula, certain proper names and class-names, and an odd number or an even number, that possess each its individual soul or its special spiritual energy....And the absorbing care of the aboriginal of Chota Nagpur, as of other countries, is how best to defend himself and his family, his cattle and his crops, his house and his other belongings, against the subtle influence of such baneful energies and the poisonous malice inhering in most human and non-human souls and spirits "( J. R. A. I., July-Dec., 1914. )

Again, "A study of the two principal aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur—the Mundas and the Oraons—inclines one to think that the same principles that underlie their social and religious systems, underlie, to some extent, their ideas as to magic and witchcraft as well. As the ideas behind their social and tribal organization is alliance with the helpful village-communities, and the idea behind their religious systems is alliance with the highest and most helpful spiritual entities they know of, and, through them, control of the harmful ones, so the idea behind their magico-religious system appears to be the need of an alliance with the helpful forces and powers, and avoidance and control of the harmful influences and energies, of their physical and super-physical environment" (*ibid.*, p. 325).

"In the human world, it is the different human groups or village-communities and Parha-federations around him, as also certain persons with particularly strong individuality or soul-power, and persons possessing occult powers, as well as strangers in general that the Oraon or Munda of Chota Nagpur takes account of, and either avoids, defies, or forms ceremonial alliances with. In the animal, vegetable, mineral, and planetary worlds, and even with respect to the elements, and to certain artificial objects such as weapons and implements and intangible things such as name and number, such alliance with good powers and avoidance and control of evil powers take the form of Totemism, cattle, and tree-worship, charms and amulets, and *chhut* or touch-tabus, food-tabus, and other tabus. In the super-physical world, it is the disembodied spirits of the departed and the unembodied spirits of various orders of supernatural beings, which either hover about in the air or take their seats temporarily or permanently in some natural objects, that have to be reckoned with". (*ibid.*, p. 325).

"At present, the Chota Nagpur aboriginal's conception of the universe is that of a battle-field where a ceaseless, though often silent, struggle is going on between himself and the powers of Evil, where he has to ally himself with the powers of Good to contend successfully against the powers of Evil, and where the evil powers are far more numerous though not indeed more powerful, than the good ones." (*ibid.* p. 350).

While a study of the primitive culture of the



aborigines of India which is less "primitive" than Andamanese culture appears to indicate the recognition of a distinction between beneficent powers and maleficent powers, and a continual endeavour through rites and ceremonies prescribed by society to come in contact with the former and avoid or control the latter, a study of Andamanese culture inclines Mr. Brown to hold that for the Andaman Islander the only beneficent power is that of his own community—"the moral power of society". As for the rest, any contact with 'power' is considered 'dangerous' by the Andamanese, and "the degree of power possessed by anything is directly proportioned to the importance of the effects that it has on social life." "By the action of the principle of opposition," says our author, "the society—the world of the living—comes to be opposed to the spirits—the world of the dead. The society itself is the chief source of protection to the individual, the spirits are the chief source of danger. Hence all protection tends to be referred to the society and all danger to the spirits, with which at first sight they would seem to have nothing to do."

But Mr. Brown further tells us that as regards his religion, the Andaman Islander with his somewhat childish faith, "is following in his own way the eternal quest of establishing and maintaining harmony between himself and the great Unseen power existing in nature."

The Andaman Islander's notion of this power, arises, we are told, from the actual experience of the moral force of society; and this power is, we are told, the same power that is denoted by the word *mana* in Melanesia, and by the words *orenda*, *wakan*, *nauala*, etc., amongst different tribes of North America. The psychology of the matter is thus set forth :

"The way in which the Andaman Islander regards all the things that influence the social life is due to the way in which they are associated with his experience of the moral force of the society. In this way there arises in the mind of primitive man, as the result of his social life and the play of feeling that it involves, the more or less crude and undefined notion of a power in society and in nature having certain attributes. It is this power that is responsible for all conditions of social euphoria or dysphoria because in all such conditions the power itself is actually experienced. It is the same power that compels the individual to conform to custom in his conduct, acting upon him both within as the force of conscience and without as the force of opinion. It is the same force on which the individual feels himself to be dependent, as a source of inner strength to him in times of need. It is this force also that carries him away during periods of social excitement such as dances, ceremonies and fights, and which gives him the feeling of a sudden great addition to his own personal force. The Andamanese have not reached the point of recognizing by a special name this power of which they are thus aware. I have shown that in some of its manifestations they regard it, symbolically, as being a sort of heat, or a force similar to that which they know in fire and heat. In more developed societies we find a nearer approach to a definite recognition of this power or force in its different manifestations by a single name. The power denoted by the word *mana* in Melanesia, and by the words *orenda*, *wakus*, *manala*, etc., amongst different tribes in North America, is this same power of which I have tried to show that the notion arises from the actual experience of the moral force of society".

Again, we are told—

"The Andaman Islander, through the ceremonies and customs of his people is made to feel that he is in a world full of unseen dangers,—dangers from the foods that he eats, from the sea, the weather, the forest and its animals, but above all from the spirits of the dead, which can only be avoided by the help of the society and by conformity with social custom. As men press close to one another in danger, the belief in and fear of the spirit-world make the Andaman Islander cling more firmly to his fellows,

and make him feel more intensely his own dependence on the society to which he belongs, just as the fear of danger makes the child feel its dependence upon its parents."

The method by which society or rather the rites and ceremonies ordained by society help the individual in avoiding such danger is to use the power supposed to reside in a particular thing "to counteract the danger due to contact with the power in another thing".

"If an individual comes in contact with the power in anything and successfully avoids the danger of such contact, he becomes himself endowed with power of the same kind as that with which he is in contact". This is how "the initiation ceremonies are the means by which the individual is endowed with power (or, as the natives say, made strong) by being brought into contact with the special power present in each of the important kinds of food. The initiation of the ordinary man or woman is parallel to the initiation of the *oko-jum* (magician) save that in one instance it is the power in foods and in the other that in the spirits with which the initiation is concerned". "They conceive the qualities that give to objects their social values as being the manifestations of a kind of energy".

This primitive notion of an impersonal power or energy at the back of things has been noticed by Seligmann and others in the case of various backward tribes. But a primitive philosophy of social life based on this notion does not appear to have yet been built up by any previous Western anthropologist. The present writer drew pointed attention to this idea with regard to the Chota Nagpur aborigines in more than one paper. Thus in a paper on *Magic and Witchcraft on the Chota Nagpur Plateau* published in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (New series) vol x, No. 9, 1914, I wrote,—  
"Although, among the Chota Nagpur aborigines,

I have not yet come across any term equivalent to the *mana* of the Melanesian or the *orenda* of the Iroquoian tribes, the idea of a mysterious impersonal force connoted by such terms is fully recognised by the Mundas and the Oraons. It is this mysterious energy or *mana* that for the Oraon or Munda gives the leaves of the mango tree and the twig of the *pial* (*Buchania latifolia*) a fertilising influence, gives the *lalela* (*semicarpis anacardium*) twig its powers of averting the 'evil eye', gives the small perforated *ruti-jara* stone its power of curing fever by its contact, gives the vegetable love-charm or hate-charm sometimes used by the Oraon youth its magic potency, gives the *Dhora* snake its magnetic power of harming people who happen merely to look at it, and which also gives the *Chandi* stone sometimes carried as a fetish by an Oraon hunting-party its power of bringing luck to the chase".

A very striking illustration of primitive man's fear of the dangers arising from contact with 'power' is afforded by certain observances of the Chota Nagpur aborigines during their annual spring festival known as the *Sarhul* when the new blossoms of the *Sal* (*shorea robusta*) tree come out and the Spirit of Vegetation is awake. This festival is celebrated in the spring, but on different dates in different villages.

"Although the actual *paga* or sacrificial feast takes place on one day alone, the festivities and subsidiary ceremonies extend over about a week. All that time, no one in the village is permitted to engage in any agricultural work, or to dig the earth, climb a tree, pluck fruits, or gather edible roots and leaves. The reason the people assign for this *tabu* is, to use their own language, 'now that the deities are up, anyone doing such a thing is sure to sustain some injury or meet with some mishap'. Again, actual contact with a person in whose village the *Sarhul* has been celebrated is *tabu* to the Oraons and the Mundas of a village in which it has not been celebrated—such a person is not allowed to enter the house, or draw water from or even touch the wells or spings of the village of the latter....Even if a married daughter

in whose husband's family the *Sarhul* festival has been celebrated happens to visit her father's village before the *Sarhul* has been celebrated there, she is not allowed admittance into her father's house,....Ordinarily, therefore, an Oraon or a Munda who has not yet had the *Sarhul* celebrated in his village, avoids going to a village where it has already been celebrated. Even if urgent necessity takes him to such a village, he leaves it as quickly as he can, and rigidly avoids touching any food or drink from that village or even sitting on the same mat with the people of that village. Any accidental contact is believed to entail such consequences as the failure of crops in his village where the *Sarhul* has not been celebrated....The reason why persons and things belonging to a village where the *Sarhul puja* has been celebrated is avoided by persons where it has not, appears to be the idea that through the renewal of their alliance with the village-deities and other spirits, including the Spirit of Vegetation represented by the *sal*-flowers, the people of the former village have been invested with a mysterious spiritual energy which may harm the people or the things of another village where the people have not yet similarly associated themselves with those spiritual agencies". ( J. R. A. I., vol. xlv, July and Decr. 1914, p. 343. )

From such comparisons it will be seen that there is in reality little difference between Mr. Brown's 'social' interpretation of Andamanese customs and beliefs and our 'spiritual' interpretation of Chota Nagpur customs and beliefs. The difference arises mainly from the different angles of vision from which the customs and beliefs are viewed by different investigators. The primitive view of things would appear to be in the main the same or similar everywhere.

The attitude of primitive culture towards its physical, super-physical, and human surroundings which I characterised as the attitude either of alliance or of avoidance or control, Mr. Brown characterises as the attitude of "either solidarity or opposition".

According to Mr. Brown, primitive customs and beliefs, are the expressions of the "social value" of things. And he explains the "social value" of any thing as "the way in which the thing affects the life of the society (either beneficially or adversely) and therefore the way in which it affects the social sentiments of the individuals who compose the society".

This 'social value' of primitive customs and beliefs is not inconsistent with their 'spiritual' value on which an Oriental student is apt to lay greater stress than the Western student. As I explained in the article in J. R. A. I. referred to above.

"The prime care of every Oraon or Munda is, as we have seen, how to avert, control, or conciliate these evil powers, not for any spiritual benefit to himself—in the sense in which the man of higher culture understands spiritual benefit—but for securing the only treasures he cares for—his crops and his cattle and his own health and that of his own wife and children—from every possible harm. In this view of the matter, the man of the lower culture may appear to be grossly materialistic, and his spirituality, to which I referred at the outset, may seem to consist only in his theoretical recognition of the soul as the real man, his belief in the mysterious power of thought, words, and desires, and his haunting sense of the presence of spiritual forces emanating from various beings and objects on earth, water, and sky, and of a spirit-world surrounding him on all sides. But we should remember that to him everything, including even his crops and his cattle, are centres of spiritual energy, that the Oraon and the Munda believe that it is really the soul of the rice that gives them nutriment, etc." (*Ibid.*, p. 350).

Thus the 'social' value of things is not ignored by the Oriental student either. This is expressed more clearly in an account of the social system of

the Oraons, in my monograph on that tribe, where I said,—

"The presence of common danger and a consciousness of the common good appear to have suggested most of the institutions described in this chapter. The prime care of the people,—the dominant idea directing and controlling the tribal soul, has been how to live and multiply, how to maintain an independent tribal existence and solidarity, how to secure good luck and avoid ill luck in so far as tribal security, health, progeny, cattle and agricultural interests are concerned. And the social, religious, and magico-religious customs and institutions of the people are mostly intended to serve that end." (*The Oraons of Chota Nagpur*, Ranchi, 1915, p. 432 ).

If it be said that the Oriental student with his spiritualistic bias lays undue stress on the 'spiritual' aspect of social systems, customs and beliefs, the latter may as well point out that the Western scholar with his materialistic bias perhaps lays too much stress on their material or utilitarian aspect to the neglect of the 'spiritual'. Perhaps it is only when the East and the West will meet more closely in thought that science will attain to a more correct appreciation of the truth behind social and other phenomena. And that day, we fervently expect, will not be very long in coming. Mr. Brown has anticipated that day by recognising that "the qualities that give to objects their social value are the manifestations of a kind of energy".

As, according to Mr. Brown, Andamanese customs and beliefs express in general their "system of social values," so also Andamanese myths and legends, we are told, "have for their function to express the social values of different objects." This view is indeed a very interesting one, and an innovation

on the common etiological explanation of myths and legends.

"The Andaman Islander," we are told, "has no interest in nature save in so far as it directly affects the social life....The Andaman Islander has no desire to understand the processes of nature as a scientist would wish to do, nor has he any conception of nature as a subject of æsthetic contemplation. Natural phenomena affect him immediately by their influence on his own life and on the life of his fellow, and are thereby the source of a number of emotional experiences....The forces with which the Andaman Islander is most familiar as affecting his welfare are those of solidarity and opposition; it is solidarity that maintains the harmony of social life, opposition that destroys it. The forces of nature in so far as they affect the society are therefore represented as being of the same nature; there can be either solidarity or opposition between men and nature; the former leads to well-being, the latter to misfortune".

Thus the personification of natural phenomena ( in his myths ) is one of the methods by which the Andaman Islander brings "within the circle of the social life those aspects of nature that are of importance to the well-being of the society, making the moon and the monsoons a part of the social order and therefore subject to the same moral forces that have sway therein".

In this way, our author attempts to show that "the mass of institutions, customs and beliefs forms a single whole or system that determines the life of society, and the life of society is not less real, or less subject to natural laws, than the life of an organism".

In this short review, we have only briefly touched on one part of Mr. Brown's admirable monograph. Besides his thought-compelling interpretation of Andamanese customs and beliefs, myths and legends,



Mr. Brown has supplied us with a wealth of ethnographical material which will be no less highly appreciated by every ethnologist. In a future issue, we hope to present the reader with a short abstract of the main results arrived at by our author in his investigations of Andamanese life and society. But no abstract can give an adequate idea of the very valuable and highly interesting contents of the volume before us. And we strongly recommend a careful perusal of the book itself by students of social anthropology.

As is usual with the publications of the Cambridge University Press, the get-up of the book leaves nothing to be desired. The illustrations are excellent and the maps helpful. The abandonment of the now familiar system of transcription for Andamanese words and the adoption of an unfamiliar system will, however, not perhaps be generally appreciated by readers.

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- 1 The Village Feast (in honour of the village goddess in Bangalore),

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- 5 Archaeological Reminiscences [ Kistavens on the Annaimalai plateau where the tribe known as the "Malairasur" ( lit., hill-kings ) dwell. ]

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- 6 An Arabic Talismanic Cup, used chiefly in cases of parturition.—By E. Rehatssek M. C. E. p. 36

*[This cup is a talismanic vessel said to be a mixture of all metals, from which pure water is sipped by a person in sickness or even in the agony of death, but the chief use it is put to is to procure a happy delivery in child-brith.]*

- 7 Notes on castes in the Dekhan (in districts Poona and Sholapur ), By W. F. Sinclair, B. C. S.

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- 11 Archæological Notes. By J. M. Walhouse p. 93  
[ This article describes the Toda 'dry funeral'. This use of  
stone circles in Toda funeral rites is a fact to be ranked  
with the use of miniature kistavens by the mountain  
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- 12 Are the Mara'thas Cshatriyas or Sudras ?  
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- 14 Tonsure of Hindu Widows. By V. N.  
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[ Sanskrit texts are quoted in support of the immunity of  
widows from the rite of tonsure. ]
- 15 The Couvade or Hatching. By John Cain. p. 151  
[ Among the wandering tribe of Erukalavandlu who are  
a tribe of fortune-tellers, pig-rearers, and mat-makers,  
in the Telugu-speaking districts of southern India,  
directly the woman feels the birth pangs, she informs  
her husband, who immediately takes some of her clothes,  
puts them on, places on his forehead the mark which the  
women usually place on theirs, retires into a dark room  
where there is only a very dim lamp, and lies down on  
the bed, covering himself up with a long cloth. When the  
child is born, it is washed and placed on the cot beside  
the father. Assosetida, jaggery, and other articles are  
then given, not to the mother, but to the father. During  
the days of ceremonial uncleanness the man is treated as  
the other Hindus treat their women on such occasions.

He is not allowed to leave his bed, but has every thing useful brought to him. ]

- 16 Archæological Notes. By M. J. Walhouse p. 160
  - 17 Visit to the Andamanese "Home," Port Blair  
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[ Describes the habit of wearing skulls of dead relatives, the use of flakes of flint and glass, and the game of "cat's cradle"; and considers their reputed cannibalism doubtful. ]
  - 18 Archæological Notes.—By M. J. Walhouse  
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# MAN IN INDIA.

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Vol. II.    {    DECEMBER 1922.    {    No. 4.

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## I. THE LAND AND ISLAND OF WOMEN.

By W. CROOKE, C. I. E., D. SC., LITT-D.

The earliest trace of the legend of the Country and Island of Women which I have discovered is that in the story of the fifth adventure of the horse released at the Asvamedha rite in the Mahābhārata. The horse "entered a country which was inhabited only by women, and their Rānī was named Paramita. And the way in which these women became mothers was this. When men from other regions visited that country for traffic or from curiosity, the women lived with them as their wives; and if a daughter was born it was permitted to live, but a son was killed the moment it was born. And if a man stayed for more than a month in that country he was put to death; and such of the women as were with child remained alive, but such as were not with child burned themselves with his dead body; for which reason every man who could escape ran away after twenty or twenty-five days. When Arjuna arrived in their country, he said to the warriors about him: "This is a marvellous country that the horse has led us to. If we conquer these women we shall obtain no credit thereby; but if we are

conquered our disgrace will be greater than can be conceived". In the end, Arjuna was defeated by the women, and he married their Rānī who came with him to Hastināpura <sup>1</sup>.

The Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, (A. D. 629) describes the country called Po-lo-hih-mo-pu-lo, which is the name of the Country of the Eastern Women. The husband of the reigning woman is called king, but he knows nothing of the affairs of the state. The men manage the wars and sow the land, that is all <sup>2</sup>. The name used by the pilgrim is identified as Brahmapura <sup>3</sup>. The Chinese name of the region was Kinchi. It is the land known as the Amazon country and that called Mūshika <sup>4</sup>. Wilson identified the Women's Kingdom as Bhot, the Strirājya or Women's Kingdom, and Mūshika, "the land of thieves," with the pirate coast of Malabar. Other Chinese reports corroborate the existence of this Kingdom of the Amazons <sup>5</sup>.

The same pilgrim also describes the Country of the Western Women, a place in Persia, the abode of the western demons, who by intercourse with a girl of southern India "engendered a clan of female children," and therefore the land is now called the Country of the Western Women <sup>6</sup>.

The story about Brahmapura seems to be based on the loose marriage customs which even now prevail in Tibet, like the Muta or temporary marri-

<sup>1</sup> J. T. Wheeler, *History of India*, i, 400 pp.

<sup>2</sup> S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western world* i, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Sir A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 356.

<sup>4</sup> *Vishnu Purāna*, trans. H. H. Wilson, 1840, p. 481.

<sup>5</sup> E. T. Atkinson, *The Himalayan Districts of the North-western Provinces of India*, ii, 457 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Beal, *op. cit.* ii, 240.

age of the Shīa Musalmāns<sup>7</sup>. The story of the Western Women is repeated by Marco Polo, whose editor, the late Sir H. Yule, has a learned note on the position of the Male and Female Islands<sup>8</sup>. Mr. W. Logan<sup>9</sup> has shown good reason for believing that the Island of Women is Minicoy, an island attached to the Malabar District, politically included in the Laccadive group, but ethnologically and geographically in the Maldivo Islands<sup>10</sup>. According to Mr. Logan, there is a great excess of women in the island, as many of the men are absent for long periods on sea voyages. The women, though they are by religion Musalmāns, appear openly unveiled, and take a lead in everything except navigation. They conducted the Census in 1876 by calling a woman from every house who told off the numbers with such readiness and propriety. After marriage the girls remain for a time with their fathers, and leave the paternal home in order of seniority, the houses erected for them becoming their own property, and the men have no rights of ownership. It is easy to understand how mariners visiting the island could find none to receive them but women, and everything was arranged and managed by women. The men who remained in the island would probably keep out of the way until the strangers left, as they were pirates, and it would have fared ill with them if they were discovered.

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<sup>7</sup> Iātar Sharif, *Islām in India*, 1921, p. 57. E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 5th ed. 1922. iii. 268.

<sup>8</sup> Marco Polo, ed. Sir H. Yule, 1st ed. ii, 337 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Malabar*, i, 287 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xvii, 360 f.



The Chinese pilgrim's story of the Island of the Western Women is thus probably based on the marriage system which prevails among the Nāyars and other people of Malabar under the system of Mother Right.

Other instances of the same legend are found in Assam where among the Nāgās there is a tradition of a happy village in the far north-east peopled entirely by women, the population being kept up by the inhabitants receiving visits of traders from the surrounding tribes <sup>11</sup>.

I have recorded these few examples in the hope that Indian scholars will interest themselves in the question, and that further enquiries will bring to light other instances of this remarkable legend.

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<sup>11</sup> Sir E. A. Gait, *Census Report, Assam*, 1891, i, 250 f.

J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nāgās*, 263 f.

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## II. DEPOPULATION OF PRIMITIVE COMMUNITIES.

By J. H. HUTTON, C. I. E.

Almost at the same moment as the announcement of the untimely death of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, there appeared a volume edited by him<sup>1</sup>, of small size but much importance, consisting of an inquiry in seven or eight essays, into the causes of the alarming decay of population in Melanesia and possible remedies for it. The contributors to this volume are three missionaries, a doctor, an administrator and an anthropologist, in addition to the editor himself, doctor, anthropologist and psychologist, and Sir Everard im Thurn, who writes the preface.

After Dr. Rivers' own contribution on the Psychological Factor, the two most important essays are those of the Rev. W. J. Durrad and Dr. Felix Speiser, and the importance of the whole is in the lessons it contains for all those who, as missionaries, doctors or administrators have to deal with tribes or races of primitive culture, who have been comparatively recently brought into contact with the outside world. The result of such contact in Melanesia has been a very rapid and far-reaching decay, and there is every reason to suppose that a similar contact will entail similar results in other parts of the world, if the lesson is not learnt; and

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<sup>1</sup> *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia*, Edited by W. H. R. Rivers, M. D., F. R. S., with a Preface by Sir Everard im Thurn, K. C. M. G., K. B. E., C. B., Cambridge University Press, 1922, *Octavo*, pp. 116+xviii.

indeed Assam, at any rate, already shows signs that the same mischief is at work, and that similar results will follow, if the danger is not taken in hand in time. India as a whole has probably been spared the disastrous effects of "black-birding" and the indentured labour system in the form in which they have contributed to the Melanesian problem. Such parallels to them as can perhaps be found in the consequences of the recruitment of indentured coolies for the tea industry are mild and innocuous by comparison, and in any case the indenture system for tea-gardens has gone, and we need no warning against its revival. Other questions, however, are dealt with in this book, which have a direct bearing on our treatment of such areas as the hill districts of Assam; such questions as that of the introduction of the diseases of civilization where they were unknown before, the restriction of the consumption of alcohol, the introduction of the use of European clothes, and the abolition of head-hunting.

The introduction of new diseases into isolated communities, where they have been previously unknown, must be much the same in all parts of the world, particularly in the case of venereal diseases and epidemics like influenza which seems to have contributed as much to the recent decline in the population of Melanesia, as it has to some of those Naga tribes which were already on the downward grade. For the rest, the geographical and political conditions of Melanesia are so different from those here, that Dr. Rivers' volume does not bear on this country very much, unless it be in Sir William Macgregor's recommendation to train up

your doctors from local rather than foreign material. One coincidence is possibly worth notice. It is recognised by missionaries that their steamer, the 'Southern Cross', is a distributor of disease, and Bishop Patteson found that the natives associated Christianity with the epidemics it brought. So in the Angami Naga country, when three consecutive Christmas gatherings of converts introduced measles or influenza into the village in which they were held, the ancients of a fourth village in 1921 objected stoutly to any such gathering in their own village since Christian assemblies brought disease. Missionaries may take note,—and precautions.

Alcohol, in the purely British part of Melanesia is well under control, apparently, though in that part which is under French or joint French and British rule it is still a factor for harm. One point which affects Assam, at any rate, may be noticed, and that is that although everyone is agreed that the sale of alcohol to the Melanesian tribes should be prohibited, it is recommended that the manufacture and consumption of *kava*, which takes a place corresponding to that of 'rice-beer' or *lao-pani* in Assam, should not be forbidden. This advice which might well be followed by those missionary societies in Assam, which insist on total abstinence from all forms of fermented liquor, however mild and harmless, sometimes driving their converts towards opium, which can so easily be taken surreptitiously, and ignoring the well-established fact that the human body needs either sugar or fermented stuff of some sort; for the hill tribes do not as a rule grow sugar-

cane, and have no means of manufacturing it into sugar.

One of the most noticeable things in these essays is the strikingly unanimous consensus of opinion on the subject of clothes. All the contributors include the wearing of European clothes as one of, if not the most important of the principal factors in bringing about the spread of lung diseases and the consequent decimation of those who have adopted them. The appearance of consumption within the last few years in parts of the Naga Hills where it was unknown before, apparently, is probably to be ascribed to the same cause, and the practice, if encouraged among tribes accustomed for untold generations to go almost unclothed, is bound inevitably to have the same devastating effects as it has had upon the unfortunate Melanesians, among whom many of the missionaries are vainly attempting to undo the harm they have done so much to encourage. Not only lung diseases, but dysentery, itch and yaws are all propagated by the foolish habit of wearing English clothes quite unsuited to the temperament and environment of the wearers. Missionaries, with their false ideas of what constitutes decency and modesty are great offenders in this respect in Assam, as well as in Melanesia, where "some even go so far as to make clothing a condition of baptism" ( p. 31 ), and "it cannot be too strongly urged upon the missionaries and traders that clothing is unnecessary for the natives in their natural environment. Everything should be done to keep the people natural and unaffected, and to prevent a false modesty and artificiality. It cannot be said that modesty is

encouraged by the wearing of clothes; perhaps even the reverse is true.....One of the most pathetic contrasts in the islands is the lithe and glossy skin of the healthy native and the dirty, over-dressed Melanesian masquerading as a white man" ( p. 31 ). In Melanesia even the missionaries ( p. 22 ) now, as well as administrators ( p. 75 ), recommend a return to the Fijian or Samoan *lavalava*, a palm-leaf petticoat, and it is a missionary who points out that the very infants suffer from the clothes-wearing habits of their mothers, who must carry them on their backs on a wet day with sodden cloth on all sides of them instead of, at worst, on the outside only. Here in Assam the American Baptist Mission is making precisely the same mistake as has proved so deadly there probably confounding American social customs with religious tenets, and, imbued with narrow-mindedness and sartorial prudery, unable to realize that to simple minds perfect modesty and absolute decency are compatible with an absence of clothing that shocks the unaccustomed, though it has really nothing whatever to do with morals or religious beliefs. To quote Mr. Durrad again, "some of the most prudish women are not renowned for a very virtuous life", a sentence which might well have been written of the Ao Naga tribe. The Naga has been distinguished from his neighbours for his nakedness for at least two thousand years, and now his teachers would drive him fatally into clothing—and consumption. As in Melanesia, so in the Naga Hills, "the missions have it in their own hands to discourage or even to prohibit the use of such

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clothing at school or in Church. The sight of a healthy skin is more decent than that of a dirty shirt".

Turning to the question of head-hunting, we find that its entire prohibition, entailing as it does a serious interference with all sorts of dependant activities, ultimately leads to a total lack of interest in life, and so to the limitation of families, or even the entire refusal to rear families. Where the other causes are not operative, as in the island of Eddystone, lack of interest in life has alone been enough to cause a very serious decline in the population. This lack of interest is largely due to the abolition of head-hunting by the British Government. This practice formed the centre of a social and religious institution which took an all-pervading part in the lives of the people.....The actual head-hunting expedition only lasted a few weeks, and the actual fighting often only a few hours, but this was only the culminating point of a process lasting over years.....In stopping the practice of head-hunting the rulers from an alien culture were abolishing an institution which had its roots in the religion of the people and spread its branches throughout nearly every aspect of their culture, and by this action they deprived the people of the greater part of their interest in life". ( pp. 101, 102 ). The following passage may be quoted from an article by Mr. T. J. McMahon, F. R. G. S. in *The Blue Peter*, July—August, 1922 :—

While on every other island of the group the natives have decreased in numbers, the island of Malaita offers the finest example of the secret of vigorous and increasing native life Malaita is the

land of the "head-hunters", a most active, vicious, aggressive and energetic people. They repulse every effort of the white man to overcome them and carry on unceasing strife among themselves.....The Malaita people are living examples of the fact that only an active, energetic existence can keep native folk healthy and progressive".

Captain E. Kingdom Ward, F. R. G. S., is also worth quoting. In *In Farthest Burma* he writes (p. 235), "The blighting influence of the peaceful Buddhist religion has done its work. No longer able to harm and fight, the men have found time hang heavy on their hands, and sitting at home in their huts watching the guns and *dahs* with which long ago their ancestors performed wondrous feats of arms, rusting on the walls, they have found refuge in opium".

I am indebted to Mr. Henry Balfour for pointing out to me both these passages.

For the remedies which are suggested, reference must be made to the book itself, and in particular to Dr. Rivers' most suggestive essay. Here it will be enough to say that if only they will forbear to supply causes as well, the missionaries may do much towards affording a remedy, but on different lines administrators can do no less, perhaps, and without their aid. The drastic remedies proposed by Dr. Speiser are some of them, however, almost Prussian in character, and might possibly prove worse than the disease. Enough has been said to indicate the importance of this book to Missions and to Governments which have to deal with primitive tribes hitherto left to themselves, though it may be



doubted whether the questions arising can be really efficiently dealt with without specialized administration separated from that of contiguous but more civilized areas. All missionaries and all officers of India and Burma should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest this short but pregnant volume of essays, and no admirer of the late Dr. Rivers' can better pay respect to his memory than by applying the knowledge and experience, which he has here made available, in the interests of all primitive peoples, whose welfare it was Dr. Rivers' intention to promote.

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### III. ON THE CULT OF THE TREE-GODDESS IN EASTERN BENGAL.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A.

*Lecturer in Social Anthropology, University of  
Calcutta.*

Many races of people living in a low plane of culture believe that trees and plants have their indwelling spirits, inasmuch as these exhibit the signs of life, though in a lesser degree than men and beasts. They cast waving shadows and reflections; their leaves emit soft soughing sounds when greatly agitated by breezes; and their juices have, sometimes, soporific and, sometimes, maddening effects. An old writer says: "When an oake is falling, before it falls it gives a kind of shriekes or groanes, as if it were the genius, or spirit, of the oake lamenting." These symptoms, these seemingly outward manifestations of life confirm the primitive man's belief that trees and plants must also have their souls. By a gradual process, the primitive man comes to look upon the tree itself as the personification or embodiment of the indwelling spirit or deity whose life has some sort of connection with that of the tree or plant.

In the course of our survey of the religious beliefs of various races of men, we have come across instances of the aforementioned belief as having existed among the ancient Greeks and Romans, the Celts and the Peruvians.\* We have also found traces of the existence of this belief among the peoples of ancient Palestine and of modern Japan <sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>For further details of these beliefs, see my article on *The Worship of the Sylvestre Goddess*, in *The Hindustan Review* for March 1917, pp. 178-9.

If we come to Asia and examine the religious beliefs of the Malays, we find that the aforementioned belief prevails in all its pristine vigour among them. The Malay magicians labour under the superstitious impression that a good many species of trees possess souls—have their indwelling spirits, as for instance the durian, the cocoanut-palm, and the trees which yield eagle-wood, gutta percha, camphor, and the like.

This will be evident from the fact that, in the olden times, the Malay *Pawang*s or magicians used to perform a curious ceremony for the purpose of coaxing the barren durian trees into bearing fruit.

On a specially selected day, a *Pawang* would burn incense and scatter rice. Then singling out the most barren of the durian trees, he would take a hatchet and, by means of it, strike several blows at this tree, to the accompaniment of the utterance of the following words:—

"Will you now bear fruit or not? If you do not, I shall fell you."

In reply to this query, the tree (through the mouth of a man who had been stationed for this purpose upon a neighbouring mangosteen tree) is supposed to make the following response:—

"Yes, I will now bear fruit;

I beg you not to fell me." <sup>2</sup>

Then again, the drawers of toddy invoke the soul or presiding spirit of the cocoanut-palm with the undermentioned short speech: "Thus I bend

<sup>2</sup> *Malay Magic*, by W. W. Skeat. London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd. 1900. pp. 198-199

your neck, and roll up your hair; and here is my ivory toddy-knife to help the washing of your face." <sup>3</sup>

The Jakuns of the Malay Peninsula believe that there is a *bisan* or spirit which presides over or dwells in the camphor-trees and that, without propitiating it, it is impossible to gather the camphor. This spirit is supposed to make a shrill noise at night; and when this noise is heard, it is believed to indicate, surely and certainly, that there are camphor-trees near at hand. When the Malays go out in search of camphor, they throw out, before eating, a portion of their food into the forest as an offering to the *bisan*. This spirit is not prayed to at all <sup>4</sup>.

Similarly, the *tabak*-trees or the trees which produce the eagle-wood of commerce are believed by the Malays to be the dwelling-places of certain *hantu* or forest-spirits which, like the *bisan* or the spirits of the camphor-trees, are very powerful and dangerous. <sup>5</sup>

Then again, the Malays believe that the trees, from which gutta percha is extracted, are also the abode of a spirit which is less dangerous than either the eagle-wood spirit or the camphor spirit. It is for this reason that the Malay medicine-men have to take fewer precautions when dealing with this spirit. In the undermentioned invocation addressed to the gutta-percha spirit, the collectors of gutta percha pray for the grant to them of the boon of a drop of the spirit's blood. This is, of course, an indirect

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<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, page 194.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 212-213.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 207.

way of expressing the desire to take the sap of the gutta tree :—

“Ho, Prince S’ri Bali,  
 Prince S’ri Bandang,  
 I wish to crave the boon of a drop of blood.  
 May the yield be better than from this notch  
 of mine.”

After uttering the foregoing prayer-formula, the collector of gutta percha notches the gutta-tree. Then he utters the following threat in order to coerce him into yielding a better supply of gutta percha :—

“If it be not better,  
 You shall be a rebel unto God.”<sup>c</sup>

The same belief in the existence of a spirit which dwells in trees and plants also prevailed in ancient India, inasmuch as the goddess Durgā was looked upon in the light of a vegetation-spirit or corn-mother. This will be evident from the fact that, in the *Devī-Mahatmya* ( 92. 43-44 ), the goddess is made to say :—

“Next, O ye gods, *I shall nourish (lit., support) the whole world with the life-sustaining vegetables which shall grow out of my own body, during a period of heavy rain. I shall gain fame on the earth then as Sakambarī ( i. e., “herb-bearing” or “herb-nourishing” ); and, in that very period, I shall slay the great asura named Durgama.*”

The demons Mahisha, Sumbha and Nisumbha slain by this deity have been conjectured by scholars to represent the demons of drought.

<sup>c</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 215.

At the present day in Bengal, the goddess Durgā is worshipped in the autumn when the paddy-crops ripen and the time for harvesting them approaches near. It is for this reason that her worship is called the *Saradiyā Pūjā* or "the Autumnal Worship-festival". (*Vide Devī-Mahātmya*, 92. 11).

Then again, the important rite called the *Nava-patrika* or "the Worship of the Nine Plants (lit. Leaves)", which is performed in connection with the worship of the goddess Durgā, also lends some plausibility to the theory that she is the embodiment of the vegetation-spirit. These nine trees and plants are (1) *rambhā* (or the plantain-tree) (*Musa paradisiaca* and *M. sapientum*); (2) *kacvi* [or the edible arum (*Colocasia antiquorum*)]; (3) *haridra* [or the turmeric plant (*Curcuma longa*)]; (4) *jayanti* [or barley (*Hordeum hexastichum*)]; (5) *bela* or *bilva* [or the wood-apple tree (*Ægle marmelos*)]; (6) *dārimba* [or the pomegranate tree (*Punica granatum*)]; (7) *asoka* (*Jonesia asoka*); (8) *māna* or *mānaka*; and (9) *dhānya* [or the paddy-plant (*Oryza sativa*)].

The nine different forms or embodiments of the goddess Durgā, which are supposed to dwell in the aforementioned nine trees and plants, have been dubbed with different names. After separately offering up prayers to these nine personifications of the vegetation-spirit or the tree-goddess, the worshipper concludes the worship by saying the following further prayer:—

"Om, O leaf (*patrika*); O nine forms of Durgā!  
You are the darling of Mahādeva; accept all these

offerings and protect me, O Queen of heaven. Om, adoration to Durgā dwelling in the nine plants."

It would thus appear that "the Worship of the Navapatrikā (or the Nine Trees and Plants)" is only a survival of the cult of Durgā in her capacity as the vegetation-spirit or the tree-goddess."

A modification of this cult of the deity Durgā in her capacity as the tree-goddess is prevalent, even at the present day, in the districts of Mymensingh and Tippera in Eastern Bengal. This modified cult is known as "the Worship of the Goddess Bana Durgā (or 'Durgā of the Forest')."

This goddess—Bana Durgā—is much worshipped in the eastern parts of the district of Mymensingh in Eastern Bengal. She dwells in *sheorā*-trees (*Streblus asper*) which grow wild in every village. This deity is worshipped at the foot of the *sheorā*-tree. It is for this reason that this cult is known as "the Worship of the Tree-trunk." Women-folk also call this goddess "the Goddess of the Tree-trunk." In some places, this goddess is worshipped at the foot of the *uḍuma* (most likely *Ficus glomerata*) and other trees. At many places, the foot of the worshipped tree is built up with a *pucca* masonry platform.

This goddess—Bana Durgā—is worshipped before the performance of the ceremony for investiture with the sacred thread, of marriages and other ceremonies of an auspicious nature,

At the worship of this goddess, offerings of fried paddy (*khai*), fried flattened rice, (*chiray bhaja*)

\* *The Indo-Aryan Races*. By Ramā-Prasād Chanda. Rajshahi. Published by the Varendra Research Society. 1916. pages 130-132.

powdered rice, plantains with pips (*bichey kala*) and the like are offered up. Duck's eggs stained with vermilion are also offered up at this worship. Animals are also sacrificed on the occasion of this *pūja*.

On the last day on which the ceremonial uncleanness caused by the birth of a child ceases, the aforementioned offerings are also given to the goddess Bana Durgā. On this occasion, her deityship is not worshipped with the presentation to her of the prescribed 16 kinds of offerings (*shorashopachāra*). This informal kind of worship is called "the *Barāna* \* of the Tree-trunk" (*Gachher gunṇir barāna*).

At Comilla in the district of Tippera in Eastern Bengal, the goddess Bana Durgā is worshipped at the foot of the *kāminī*-tree (*Murraya exotica*). It is for this reason that this *pūja* is called "the Worship of the *Kāminī*."

The priests who officiate at this *pūja*, according to their own predilections, worship this goddess by uttering the formula "*Sākoṭabāsinyai durgāyai namaḥ*" [or "Obeisance to (the goddess) Durgā who dwells in the *sākoṭa* (or *sheora*) tree"]. Others do *pūja* to her by mumbling the formula "*Sākoṭabāsinyai namaḥ*" [or "Obeisance to her who dwells in the *sākoṭa* (or *sheora*) tree"].

According to the *dhyāna* or the formula with the muttering of which the image of the goddess Bana Durgā is contemplated, she has three perpendicular wrinkles on her forehead, is adorned

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\* I am unable to make out the meaning of the word '*Bārāna*'.



with garlands of forest-flowers (*tribalīyuktā banamalyabibhūshitā*), and dwells in the *sheorā*-tree.

The tree-goddess Bana Durgā is worshipped with the express object that she may preserve the worshipper's son from death, as will appear from the following *mantra* or prayer-formula recited on the occasion of doing *pūjā* to her :—

“*Om Bana Durgā balipetā hanamālā-bibhūshitā sakotabāsini devī sutarakshā n karushva me.*”

or

“*Om. May the goddess Bana Durgā, who has wrinkles (on her forehead), is adorned with garlands of forest-flowers, and dwells in the sheorā-tree, preserve my son (from all perils).*”

Another version of the foregoing prayer-formula is as follows :—

1. “*Bana Durgā mahābhāgā*
2. *Sakotabrikshabāsini*
3. *Poṭṭabastra paridhānā sutarakshām sadā kuru.*”

or

1. “*May (goddess) Bana Durgā, who is possessed of great merits,*
2. *Who dwells in the sheorā-tree,*
3. *(And) who is dressed in a sārī made of silk-floss, always preserve (my) son (from all kinds of dangers).*”

The most curious feature of the cult of the tree-goddess Bana Durgā is the fact that beasts and birds, the eating of whose flesh is forbidden to orthodox Hindus, are sacrificed to her. For instance, pigs are sacrificed to her. Barbers cut the throats of these beasts by means of a razor. Then again, 21 cocks are offered up on the occasion of the *pūjā*

of this goddess. These fowls are not actually sacrificed but are cooped up in a cage and placed at a distance from the place of worship. The officiating priest, from a distance, sprinkles water on these fowls and, thereby, consecrates them as offering to her deityship. \*

When we examine the ritual connected with the worship of the tree-goddess Bana Durgā, we notice the following outstanding features of it :—

- (1) That no image is made to represent this goddess ;
- (2) That she is believed to be a shadowy spirit resident in some kind of trees ;
- (3) That no shrine or temple is constructed and dedicated to her ;
- (4) That she is worshipped at the foot of *sheorā*, *uduma*, *kāminī* and other kinds of trees ;
- (5) That duck's eggs stained with vermilion are offered up to her. But these articles are never given as offerings to deities of the orthodox Hindu Pantheon. [ Compare this offering with that of ducks to the non-Aryan tiger deity Dakshina Rāya of Southern Bengal, *Vide J. and Proc. A. S. B.*, Vol. XI, ( N. S ) for 1915, page 175 ].
- (6) That pigs, the offering of whose meat to deities of the orthodox Hindu Pantheon is strictly prohibited, are sacrificed to her. I may state here that in different parts of Eastern Bengal pigs are, even at the present day, offered up by way of sacrifice to

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\* For the details of the cult of the tree-goddess Bana Durgā, I am indebted to a Bengali article "*Prādesika Devatattva*" which appeared in the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsī* for Ashārha, 1329 B. S. ( June--July 1922 A. D. ). pp. 356—357.

various deities. I shall mention here a few typical instances of this custom, so far as they are prevalent in the district of Mymensingh.

In a village named Putijānā in Thāna Kulbādiyā in the district of Mymensingh pigs are sacrificed to the goddess Bana Durgā. A barber performs the sacrificial act by cutting the pig's throat with a razor.

According to the family custom of the zamindars of Muktagachha in the district of Mymensing, a male and a female pig used to be sacrificed to the goddess Bana Durgā. An incision was made in the throat of the male pig,<sup>1</sup> and a few drops of blood were drawn from it and spilt upon the frontal portion of a plantain-leaf. The female pig was then made to sit upon that plantain-leaf; and the words "*Shat shat*," were uttered. Thereafter the male and female pigs were let loose in a jungle. The Doms and Mehtars used to catch these pigs and appropriate them.

Then again, in a village named Gāngatiya in Thana Kishorgunj in the same district, pigs are sacrificed to a minor village-goddess named Khala Kumārī.\*

(7) That cooks, the offering of which is strictly forbidden to deities of the orthodox Hindu Pantheon, are given as offerings to her.

It would appear that all the aforementioned features are characteristic of non-Aryan cults.

For these reasons, I am of opinion that the cult of the tree-goddess Bana Durgā is of non-Aryan

\* *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Prabāsi* for Pausha 1329 B. S. (December 1922—January 1923 A. D.), page 364.

origin and that the name Bana Durgā has been given by the exponents of Brahmanism to the shadowy spirit which the aboriginal non-Aryans believed to be resident in the *sakoṭa* (or *sheorā*) and other kinds of trees, for the purpose of giving this worship the colour of a cult of orthodox Paurāṇik origin.

Another modification of the cult of the tree-goddess is also prevalent in Eastern Bengal. In this modified form, the goddess is also dubbed with the names of Bana Durgā, Bana Devī, or Burhā Thākuraṇī. She is believed to preside over woods and forests.

On the occasion of the worship of this goddess, the womenfolk, who celebrate her worship, make semi-circular bracelets of rice-flour paste, coloured red at one end and yellow at the other with liquefied rice-flour pastes of the same colours. These bracelets symbolize the invisible shadowy spirit or tree-goddess.

The celebrant womenfolk make a travesty of the tree-goddess's favourite habitat—the forest—by sticking into their courtyards small twigs of the *hibiscus* shrub and the *sheorā*-tree.

A miniature tank is also excavated in their courtyards. Round the edges of this tank, ornamental scroll-work and floral designs are painted with liquefied rice-flour paste.

While listening to the legend which is recited on the occasion of this ceremonial worship, each of the celebrant womenfolk takes up in her hand a piece of a leaf-spathe of the plantain-tree, upon which a pair of the aforementioned bracelets has been placed.

After having finished the hearing of the legend, they steep in water the red-colored mass of rice-flour paste, throw part of this liquid upon the mimic forest of the twigs of the *hibiscus* shrub and *sheora*-tree, and spill the remainder thereof into the miniature tank.

The most interesting features of the aforementioned cult of the tree-spirit or tree-goddess Bana Durga or Bana Devi are as follows :—

(1) The absence of an image of the tree-spirit or tree-goddess Bana Durga or Bana Devi.

(2) The construction of a mimic forest with the twigs of the *sheora*-tree and the *hibiscus* shrub.

(3) The excavation of a miniature tank with ornamental scroll-work and floral designs painted all round its edges with liquified rice-flour paste.

(4) The making of bracelets with rice-flour paste and placing the same upon strips of the leaf-spathe of the plantain-tree.

(5) The act of the celebrant womenfolk's taking up, in their hands, the bracelets made of rice-flour paste, while listening to the legend.

(6) The spilling of the liquified red-colored rice flour paste upon the mimic forest and into the miniature tank.

With reference to points (1), (2) and (6), I am inclined to think that, in most ancient times, the whole of Eastern Bengal was covered with primeval forests. The non-Aryan aborigines, who lived in these forests, believed them or rather the trees contained in them to be inhabited by an invisible shadowy spirit or goddess whom they adored and prayed to. When this cult was absorbed

into orthodox Hinduism, the exponents of the orthodox faith dubbed the tree-spirit or tree-goddess with the names of Bana Durgā, Bana Devī, or Burhā Thākurāni. On the occasions of worshipping, the latter made no anthropomorphic image of her but represented her by making simple symbols in the shape of bracelets of rice-flour paste.

They symbolized her favourite dwelling-place—the forest—by constructing a mimic wood by sticking into their courtyard small twigs of the *sheorā*-tree (*Streblus asper*) and of the *hibiscus* shrub (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*). By spilling the liquified rice-flour paste upon this travesty of a forest, they simulated the act of watering or irrigating the tree-goddess's favourite dwelling-place, and thereby propitiated her.

After fully considering the point (3) and the latter part of point (6) *supra*, I opine that the excavation of the miniature tank in the celebrant womenfolk's courtyard, and the spilling into it of the remainder of this liquified red-coloured rice-flour paste, are mere survivals of the cult of the water-deity. This worship of the water-deity has been tacked on to that of the tree-spirit or tree-goddess on the principle—the greater the number of the gods, the greater the efficacy of conjoint prayers to them all.

After fully considering the points (4) and (5) mentioned above, I have arrived at the conclusion that the bracelets made of rice-flour paste are mere symbols representing the tree-spirit or tree-goddess, and that, by taking up the bracelets in their hands

while listening to the legend, the celebrant women-folk place themselves in actual contact with her deityship and become inspired with the latter's divine *afflatus*. \*

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\* *Vide* my article on "*The Worship of the Sylvan Goddess*" in *The Hindustan Review* for March 1917, pages 178—189.

*Foot note to para 2, p. 228.*—

It is well known that the deity Dionysus in Greece, the god Jupiter Feretrinus (Oak-god) in Rome, and the deity Tota in Mexico, were worshipped in the form of trees.

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## MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTIONS.

### I. ON TREE-CULTS IN THE DISTRICT OF MIDNAPUR IN SOUTH-WESTERN BENGAL.

BY CHITTARANJANA RAYA, B. Sc.

Since some time past, my professor, Mr. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., has been instructing me to go to the Contai subdivision in the district of Midnapur in South-Western Bengal, and make enquiries about certain sacred trees. In obedience to his instructions, I made the suggested enquiries and, as the result of my investigation, have jotted down the following facts for publication.

#### ( I )

In the village named Girīsāgangsāgara within the jurisdiction of Thānā Pātāspur in the Contai subdivision of the district of Midnapur, there is a banyan tree (*Ficus bengalensis*) which is regarded as sacred by reason of its being the supposed abode of Nekurasani Pīr ( नेकुरासनी पीर ), not only by the people who dwell in the immediate neighbourhood of this tree, but also by all the inhabitants of the Pātāspur Thānā. This tree stands on the margin of the only road by which the litigants of the Thānā go to the courts for the purpose of prosecuting their law-suits and cases. For this reason, this banyan tree is much adored and prayed-to by these people under the belief that the deified Pīr or saint will bless them with success in their litigation.

From enquiries made from these worshippers, I have come to know that, when they pass by this



road on their way to the court for the purpose of prosecuting their law-suits or cases, they place a lump of clay at the foot of this tree, pray to the tree-godling for granting them success in their litigation, and that, if the prayed-for boon would be granted to them, they would place more lumps of clay at the foot of the tree, tie red rags on its branches, and present votive offerings of clay images of horses to his godlingship.

I may state here that, among the aforementioned votive offerings, lumps of clay are more often than not placed at the foot of the tree, and red rags are as often tied on to its branches. Whereas, in exceptional cases only, clay images of horses are offered up.

If the litigants are successful in their suits and cases, they, on their way home from the courts, place lumps of clay at the foot of this tree and tie pieces of red rag on to its branches in fulfilment of the vows made by them. But when the tree-spirit or tree-godling is propitiated by regular worship or *pūjā*, the services of a local Brāhmana are enlisted for officiating at this function. It is he who recites the prayer-formula or *mantra* and makes the offerings of fruits and molasses or, failing the latter, of sugar-wafers ( *वाताचा* ).

We can judge how very much the deified saint resident in this banyan tree is adored and prayed-to by the litigants from the fact that the quantity of offerings of clay-lumps, which are presented from year's end to year's end, is so great that a fairly large-sized mound of earth gets heaped up at the foot of this tree—so much so that,

at the time of repairing the road, the Local Board authorities have to undergo the trouble of removing it. The quantity of red rags tied on to the branches of this tree, during the same period, is also very large. But these rag-offerings get rotten by being drenched by the rain-water and by constant exposure to the sun's rays, and, in this way, drop off. But compared with the quantity of the offerings of clay-lumps and those of red rags, the number of clay-figurines of horses presented to this tree-spirit or tree-godling is much less.

From conversations with the aforementioned litigant-worshippers, I have come to know that they make the offerings described above under the belief that the tree-spirit or tree-godling—the deified Pir or saint dwelling in this banyan tree—would require the earth or clay for constructing his pulpit with, the pieces of red rags for his clothing, the clay-horses for his carriers, and the offerings of fruits and sweets for his food.

At the beginning of the hot weather, say in the months of March and April, when there is no possibility of the rain washing away the mound of clay-offering and of the scorching sun's rays bleaching the red-hued rag-offerings, this banyan tree (*Ficus bengalensis*), beflagged with numerous bits of red rags and having the mound of clay-offerings at its foot, looks very much like a *palasa* tree (*Butea frondosa*) in all the glory of its red bloom, growing on a hillock.

( II )

Next, I pass on to describe another tree possessing a similar reputation for sanctity. It is growing

in the village named Bālyagovindapur within the jurisdiction of the same Thānā and in the same subdivision of the said district of Midnāpur. This tree is popularly known in that locality as the "Makdum Tree," as the people living in the neighbourhood of this tree believe it to be the dwelling-place of one Makdum Pīr (मकदुम पीर). I have not been able to ascertain the actual scientific name of this tree. But, so far as I can judge from its botanical characteristics, it appears to be a hybrid of *Ficus bengalensis* and *Ficus religiosa*. It, however, belongs to the Natural Order *Urticaceæ*, the genus *Ficus*, and the tribe *Artocarpeæ*. It is a big tree possessed of a large number of branches, is about 15 yards in diameter, but has no prop-roots.

As the people believe this tree to be the abode of a Pīr or deified saint, whenever any person falls into some worldly trouble or difficulty, he takes a vow to offer *shirnī* (शिरनी) or a dishful of sugar-wafers to the spirit of the saint, should the difficulty or trouble be obviated for him. Sometimes, the vow-takers present offerings of clay-horses to this Pīr. But such offerings are not of frequent occurrence.

Whenever this deified saint is adored and prayed-to, no Brāhmana is employed to officiate at this worship. Any man of any caste whatever may go to the foot of the tree and present the offering of *shirnī*. It is only the people living in the vicinity of this tree that pay their devoirs to this Pīr; but, very rarely, people from other localities come to do this.

A curious and interesting tradition is current in the locality about the origin of this tree. It is stated

that, some 250 years ago, there lived in this vicinity a Hindu gentleman named Sadāsiva Rāya Chaudhuri who was possessed of a deeply religious turn of mind. One morning, this gentleman found a Mahomedan fakir and a Hindu Vaishnava sitting together at the same spot where the tree is growing now.

Seeing them and coming to know that both of them were saints of a very high order, he begged of them to stay there within the ambit of his own village. In reply to his request, the Vaishnava said that, as one of them was a Hindu and the other a Mahomedan, both of them could not possibly live together, and that, therefore, one of them should depart from that place. Ultimately however, at Sadāsiva's urgent entreaty, they arranged among themselves that the Vaishnava should go to, and live in, another part of the village, and that the fakir should stay at the same spot where he was then sitting. As a matter of fact, a particular part of this village is, even at the present day, called *Harir Pāṭa* (Hari's sanctuary) in memory of the fact that the Vaishnava Haridasa lived there years and years ago.

After some time, the Pir was approached and requested by the Mahomedan community of Amarshi, a village about 3 miles off, to go to their village and take up his residence there. While, on the other hand, Sadāsiva and his family-members insisted on his staying in their own village. The fakir settled this dispute between the two parties by leaving a tree-twig with which he was, at that time, cleansing his teeth, and reassured Sadāsiva and his family-members by telling them that, from that tree-

twig, there would grow up a tree which would represent him whenever they would stand in need of his assistance.

The fakir further assured the Hindu gentleman and his kinsfolk that, as his soul would be embodied in that tree, any veneration shown by them to that tree would be tantamount to paying their *devoirs* to him, and that his spirit would be propitiated thereby.

From that time onwards even up to the present day, a drum is beaten by a Hāri beneath this tree, every evening regularly. As soon as the village-folk hear the sound of this drum, they salute Makdum Saheb by touching the ground with their hands.

For the purpose of perpetuating this custom of worshipping Makdum Pir several acres of land have been endowed as '*debottar*' by the members of the Chaudhuri family of the village in question. By way of remuneration for his services in beating the drum beneath the Makdum Tree every evening regularly, some land has also been granted in rent-free tenure to the Hāri's family which has been in possession of it for several generations.

I shall now conclude these notes by narrating a story which would testify to the magical and supernatural powers ascribed to the Makdum Tree. I have heard it personally from several old members (descendants of the late Sadasiva Raya) of the Chaudhuri family. It is as follows:—

About 90 years ago, a band of robbers came to plunder the house of the Chaudhuri family. After

plundering the house, they carried the booty to the foot of the Makdum Tree and rested there.

Having no other alternative, the members of the Chaudhuri family offered their prayers to the spirit Makdum Pīr which was embodied in that tree. Next morning, it was found that, although, up till the evening of the preceding day, there had been no hornets' nest in the vicinity of the Makdum Tree, all the robbers had been attacked and stung by a swarm of hornets so severely that they could not budge an inch from the foot of the tree, not to say anything about their having been wholly unable to carry off any portion of the booty.

Next morning, when the sun rose, the members of the Chaudhuri family, by way of thanksgiving, offered up their prayers to Makdum Pīr not only for having saved their lives but also for having disabled the robbers in such a way that they could not carry off even the smallest unite of the plundered property. Besides offering prayers, they also vowed to present him with *shirnī*.

Though this Makdum Tree is now extremely old, yet it still retains its vitality, as may be seen from the profusion of its verdant foliage and coral-red berries ( or rather inflorescences ), both of which lend it a solemn and august appearance.

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## SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS ON THE FOREGOING NOTES.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M. A., LECTURER IN  
SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA.

The most noteworthy features of the two tree-cults described above by my student Babu Chittaranjana Raya, B. Sc. are the following :—

(1) The offering of clay figurines of horses to the tree-spirits or the deified spirits of Pirs resident in trees.

(2) The offering of red rags to the tree spirits.

(4) The myth of a tree growing up from a saint's teeth-cleansing tree-twigg.

(5) The enlistment of a Brahmana's services to carry on the worship of the tree-spirit or tree-godling in the village of Girīsagangā-sāgara.

(6) The employment of a non-Brāhmana to carry on the worship of the deified spirit of the saint resident in the Makdum Tree.

To take up the point (1) mentioned above, I may state here that the custom of offering clay figurines of horses to deified saints is widely prevalent throughout India, as will appear from the following instances :—

Among the Pindaris of Central India, a deified saint named Rīmasa Pīr or Ramasa Pīr is adored and prayed-to on Saturdays and is propitiated by the offering, made at his shrine, of small figurines of horses in clay or stone. The Pindari women used

to worship this deified saint or godling when their husbands went out on their plundering forays.<sup>1</sup>

The custom of presenting offerings of clay horses at the tombs of men who, during their lives, enjoyed an extraordinary reputation for sanctity, is also very much in vogue in the district of Bhandara in the Central Provinces of India. In this district, collections of small and rude figurines of horses made of coarse earthenware may be met with on the tombs of such holy men. These offerings have accumulated there in the course of many years.<sup>2</sup>

The saint Alam Sayyid of Baroda (in the Gaikwar's Dominions) was popularly known as the "Horse-saint" (*Ghorā-kā-Pir*). His horse was buried near him. The Hindu votaries of this deified saint propitiate him by hanging figurines of horses on the trees growing round his tomb.<sup>3</sup>

It is further stated that, among the Dravidian races of India, the custom of offering clay figurines of horses to the local godlings is widely prevalent.<sup>4</sup>

In the district of Murshidabad in North western Bengal, the Musalmans make offerings of little figurines of horses at the shrines of their Pirs or saints.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*. (Allahabad Edition of 1894). Page 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> *A History of Murshidabad District (Bengal)*. By Major T. H. Tull Walsh, I. M. S., F. L. S. London: Jarrold and Sons. 1902. Pp. 90—91.



Sometimes, figurines of horses made of rags are used for the purpose of offering. In Guzerat, rag horses are presented by way of offering on the tombs of saints.

The motive underlying the custom of offering horses of clay or rags at the shrines of Pirs or saints, or to trees which are believed to be the abode of the spirits of such saints, appears to be the same as that which prompted people of the lower culture to sacrifice wives, slaves and horses at the funeral of their deceased chiefs, warriors and kinsmen, namely, that the spirits of the sacrificed victims would serve the spirits of their deceased masters in the other world. In the same way, horses of clay or rags are offered to the spirits of Pirs or saints under the belief that the spirits of these animals would be used by the latter for the purposes of riding upon.

Then I shall take up for consideration the point (2), namely, the custom of offering red rags. Now, four motives would appear to underlie this custom.

(I) The first motive is that the illness or some other physical disability of the person tying the rag on to a tree may be expelled or transferred to some one else. Among the Korwas living in the district of Mirzapur in the U. P., the Baiga or the exorcisor hangs rags on the trees which overgrow the village-shrine as a charm that would bring health and good luck to the villagers. <sup>6</sup> These "rag-shrines", as they have been called by Dr. Crooke, are to be found all

<sup>6</sup> Crooke's *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*. (Allahabad Edition of 1894), p. 319

over the U. P., and are dedicated to Chitharya or Chithraiya Bhawani—"Our Lady of Tatters." These local godlings—*Dei Loci*—are looked upon as incarnations of the goddess Kali and, as the result of this belief, have been absorbed into Orthodox Hinduism. Some of these shrines are located on pathways in jungly tracts in order that by means of these rag offerings the disease from which a patient is suffering may be transferred to some passer-by who for the purpose of nullifying the effect of this charm, ties on to the tree-shrine a rag as his own votive offering. <sup>7</sup>

Similarly, in the district of Murshidabad in North-western Bengal, it is believed that certain infantile ailments, insanity, and mental diseases in women are supposed to be caused by *Petnīs* or malignant female ghosts who are popularly believed to dwell in trees and rocks and to be fond of rags. In order that patients suffering from these maladies may get cured of their ailments, they tie rags on to trees by way of offerings to appease the malevolence of these spooks. Childless persons generally offer rags (and coins) to the spirits inhabiting certain sacred trees, in the hope that the latter would bless them with children. Women, whose children have died, also tie rags on to such sacred trees. If the rags will have disappeared by the time when the offerer thereof returns after a certain period of time, this is taken as an omen prognosticating that her next child would live. Persons suffering from chronic wasting diseases also tie rags on to trees,

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<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

believing that their ailments would be transferred to some one else by means of these rags. At Anduliah near Kandi (in the district of Murshidabad), there is a tree which is known as the Sītala tree or "the tree which is inhabited by the goddess of Small Pox." About four miles to the west of Kandi, there is a banyan tree (*Ficus bengalensis*) which is worshipped whenever a cholera epidemic breaks out. Rags dyed yellow with turmeric (Note that the color yellow is a scarer of evil spirits and demons) are tied on to the branches of the *seora* tree (*streblus asper*) with the object of scaring away diseases and malignant spirits. \*

(II) The second motive underlying the custom of presenting rag-offerings is, most likely, connected with tree-cult pure and simple. In other words, the object of this offering appears to be to propitiate the tree-spirit or tree-godling. It is stated that in Rajputana, there are sacred groves in which trees are adorned with various coloured rags which have been tied on them by travellers as offerings to propitiate the jungle-deities in order that the latter might protect them from the attacks of malignant spirits. In the Punjab, the trees to which rag-offerings are tied are designated Lingrī Pir or "the Rag-Saint." The same custom of tying rag-offerings on to trees prevails at different Himalayan shrines, is practised with reference to the *Vastraharana* tree at Brindavana near Mathura, and is also prevalent in Berar. †

\* Dr. Tull Walsh's *A History of Murshidabad District (Bengal)* pp. 90—91.

† Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 105.

In the district of Murshidabad rags are often tied on to banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*), tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*), pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) and other trees for the purpose of propitiating the spirits who reside therein and who are known as Taina Pīr or Gudai (Gudri) Pīr—"the Saint of Shreds and Patches."

Then again, the Chaudhuri or Bihari boatmen, both Hindu and Mahomedan, who come with their boats from Calcutta to the Sundarbans to cut fuel, on their arrival there, first of all, propitiate the jungle-deities who are believed by them to reside, most likely, in the trees of the forest. *The Hindu boatmen do so by tying bannerettes to the branches of the trees.* While the Musalman boatmen do so by dedicating fowls to these same deities and by letting them loose in the forest. They perform acts of adoration with the object of being immune from all kinds of evil while they stay in the forest.<sup>10</sup>

These are clearly instances of the tree-cult or the propitiation of the spirits or godlings resident in trees by means of offering rags to them. The two tree-spirits or tree-godlings who are adored and prayed-to in the Contai Subdivision of Midnapur and whose cults have been described above clearly come under this category and are instances of the *genius loci* or local godlings with respect to whom Miss C. S. Burne writes as follows:—

"The native *genius loci* the local godling who haunts some uncanny, awe-in-spiring, or sacred spot,

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<sup>10</sup> *Vide* the Bengali monthly magazine *Sisu-Sathi* (published from the Ashutosh Library, Calcutta) for *Paush* 1923 B. S. (December 1922—January 1923.)

and often receives offering or tribute, be it only of flowers, from passers-by or visitors, *scarcely attains to divine rank*. Such vague anonymous beings are rather *numina* than *dei*, sometimes they are merely the animating spirits of the crag or tree or river, inseparable from it and unable to move away from it. In other cases, they have a quasi-independent existence and a human or partially human independent form, and so approach more nearly to the position of tutelary divinities. They seem usually to share the character of their abodes. The water-nymph is treacherous, the mountain-demon fearsome, *the tree-spirit kindly*, the household familiar homely and unpolished; and they are regarded and treated accordingly"<sup>1</sup>

Miss Burne's statement that the *genius loci* or the local godling scarcely attains to divine rank, does not hold good of the two tree-spirits adored, and prayed-to in the Contai subdivision of Midnapur. At least one of them—the tree-spirit of Nekurasani Pir—has, as I shall show later on, attained to distinctly divine rank. While, on the other hand, the tree-spirit of the Makdum Pir has not yet reached this status. But both of them are kindly in their disposition; and so Miss Burne's dictum with reference to the nature of the tree-spirits holds good in their cases.

In this connection, I may state that the rage tied on to the trees inhabited by the spirits of Nekurasani Pir and Makdum Pir are dyed red,

<sup>1</sup> *The Handbook of Folklore.* By C. S. Burne, London: Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd. (1914) Pages 96—97.

simply because the colour red is a scarer of evil spirits and demons.

(iii) Then I pass on to the consideration of the third motive which underlies the custom of making rag-offerings. In this third case, rags are tied for the purpose of propitiating the spirits which inhabit mountain-passes and crags. This form of the custom is chiefly prevalent in Ladak and Tibet, as will appear from the following testimony of Captain H. H. P. Deasy and Dr. Sven Hedin :—

"About a week's journey from Thurgo, we approached the fine snow-clad mountain of Lari Fobrang or Lari Phai, and spent some time in measuring bases and observing the height of this as well as of Thachap Garigri and other prominent peaks. All such mountains are closely associated with the ancient religious worship of the inhabitants. The wild forces of nature are personified and deified ; the goddess *Devi* specially is supposed to haunt the summits and the passes, where wind and frost and snow are the common course of things. At the head of each frequented pass, travellers are supposed to make some offering to this divinity. It may be only a rag, a scrap of sheepskin, or a stone ; but in some places mounds or pillars of stone have been erected, and in others the structures are of the skulls of animals."<sup>12</sup>

During the course of his sojourn in Tibet, Dr. Sven Hedin also came across the undermentioned instances of rag-offerings made by Buddhists :—

<sup>12</sup> *In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan.* By Captain H. H. P. Deasy. Colonial Edition. London : T. Fisher Unwin, ix 1901. Pages 66—67.

"Tsering and Bola now reach the pass with the small caravan. They fall on their knees before the heap of stones and recite their prayers, and Tsering tears a strip off his ragged coat to tie as an offering on to one of the strings. We all feel as though we were on a pilgrimage."<sup>15</sup>

Then again: "At length, we see before us a gigantic boulder, its cubical contents amounting perhaps to 7,000 to 10,000 cubic feet; it stands like an enormous milestone on the saddle of Dolma-la, which attains the tremendous height of 18,599 feet. On the top of the block, smaller stones are piled up into a pyramid supporting a pole, and from its end cords decorated with rags and streamers are stretched to other poles in the ground. Horns and bones, chiefly shoulder-blades of sheep, are here deposited in large quantities—gifts of homage to the pass, which is supposed to mark the half-way point of the pilgrimage. When the pilgrim arrives here, he smears a bit of butter on the side of the stone, plucks out a lock of his own hair and plasters it into the butter. Thus he has offered up some of himself and some of his belongings. Consequently the stone resembles a huge wig-block, from which black locks of hair flutter in the wind. In time, it would be completely covered with Tibetan hair, were it not that the locks occasionally fall off and are blown away by the wind. Teeth are stuck in all the chinks of the Dolma block, forming whole rosaries of human teeth. If you have a loose tooth,

<sup>15</sup> *Trans-Himalaya*. (Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet). By Sven Hedin. In Two Volumes. London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1909 Vol. I., page 279.

dedicate it to the spirits of the pass. Tsering unfortunately was toothless, or he would gladly have conformed to this regulation. *Heaps of rags lie all around, for the pilgrim has always spare shreds to hang on a string or lay at the foot of the block. But he not only gives, but also takes. Our old man took a rag from the heap and had a large quantity of such relics round his neck, for he had taken one from every cairn.*<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, Moorcroft describes how he propitiated the malignant spirits inhabiting a dangerous mountain-pass by offering to it the leg of a pair of worn-out nankin trousers.<sup>15</sup>

(iv) The fourth form of the custom of making rag-offerings is prevalent among the Mahomedans of Afghanistan and the nomadic Kirghiz tribes of Central Asia. The motive, which prompts the Afghans to hang up rags on the peak of the Lataband Mountain, is to propitiate the mountain-spirit in order that the latter may grant his votaries children. The Afghan custom is thus described by Amir Abdur Rahman :—

“Lataband Mountain means the *Mountain of Rags*, and is called by this name because some superstitious people think that, if they hang a rag of cloth on the peaks of this mountain, they will obtain children or anything else they want from God. The greatest Empress of India, called Nur Jehan, was born on the peak of this mountain when her

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 200—201.

<sup>15</sup> Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 104.



father and mother were exiled from Persia to India".<sup>16</sup>

Among the Kirghiz of Central Asia, who appear to be Musalmans, *tughs* or sticks, to which pieces of rags are tied, are stuck up on the tombs of their saints or Pirs in order to propitiate the souls of these deceased holy men. This Kirghiz custom is described by Dr. Sven Hedin as follows :—

"On the very highest point of the pass (of Kizil-art) stood the burial-cairn of the Mahomedan saint Kizil-art, a mound of stones, decorated with the religious offerings of pious Kirghiz, namely, *tughs* (i.e., sticks with rags tied round them), pieces of cloth, and antelope's horns".<sup>17</sup>

Again: "Just where the valley diverted, we saw, conspicuously crowning a low hill, the *masar* or tomb of the Kirghiz saint Oksali, built of slabs of stone and decorated with horns and *tughs* (sticks with rags and pieces of cloth tied round them)".<sup>18</sup>

Again: "In the middle of the plain at a place called Gedyäck (the Violin), there was a picturesque *tu*, that is, a mound of stones, with a branch of a birch-tree fixed in it and hung round with the skulls and horns of wild sheep and *tekkes* (wild goats) the tails of horses and yaks, pieces of white rag, and other religious offerings of the Kirghiz".<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *The Life of Abdur Rahman Amir of Afghanistan*, G. C. B., G. C. S.I., Edited by Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed Khan. In Two Volumes, London: John Murray, 1900, Vol. I. Page 218.

<sup>17</sup> *Through Asia*. By Sven Hedin. In Two Volumes, London: Methuen & Co. 1898. Vol. I. Page 153.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 167.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 278.

Then again : "At the far end there was an open woodwork screen, and behind it the tomb of the saint, marked by an ordinary tombstone, in a square dark room decorated with flags, *tughs* (*rags*), deer's antlers, and the horns of wild sheep"<sup>20</sup>.

Lastly : "I reached the culminating point of the pass at 11 o'clock, and found there the *masar* (tomb) of Hazrett Ullug-art, consisting of a little heap of stones with staves stuck in them, to which *pieces of rag were tied*"<sup>21</sup>.

"( The yak's ) tail is generally hung up as a religious offering (*tugh*) at some *masar* (saint's tomb )" <sup>22</sup>.

Then I take up for consideration the point (3) about the offering of lumps of clay to the tree-spirits. I have not been able to come across any Indian analogue in which lumps of clay are similarly offered up to a local godling or a deity of the orthodox Hindu Pantheon. But, in one instance from the district of Murshidabad, I find that stones are placed by way of offering at the foot of the trees which are believed to be inhabited by the tree-godling or tree-spirit Dhelai Chandi—"Our Lady of Clods"<sup>23</sup>. Similarly, in Berar in Central India, a heap of stones besmeared with vermilion is placed at the foot of a tree fluttering with numerous bits of rags, which tree represents Chindiya Deo—"the Lord of Tatters." It is believed that, if some votary would offer up to this *genius loci*

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<sup>20</sup>*Op. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 451—452.

<sup>21</sup>*Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 676.

<sup>22</sup>*Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 1037.

<sup>23</sup>Dr. Tull Walsh's *A History of Murshidabad District*, pp. 90—91.

a scrap of rag in proper time, he might hope to get good clothes. <sup>24</sup>

I am inclined to think that the Indian custom of offering up lumps of clay, or, for the matter of that, stones to tree-spirits or tree-godlings has been borrowed from the Buddhists who, for the purpose of propitiating the *genius loci* of a difficult mountain-pass or a dangerous mountain-crag, make offerings of stones and of skulls of animals, or erect cairns thereof, as is testified to by the following instances of the custom which were met with by Dr. Sven Hedin and Captain H. H. P. Deasy in Tibet and Chinese Turkestan:--

"On the summit of the Changla Pass stands a stone-heap with sacrificial poles, which are decked with ragged streamers torn by the wind. All these streamers bear in Tibetan characters the prayer of the six sacred letters; coloured or faded, they flap and rustle in the wind as if they would drive the prayer up higher and higher by unknown paths to the ears of the gods. Horns and skulls adorn this elevated altar. Here all our Ladakis in turn come to a halt, raise a cheer, dance, swing their caps, and rejoice at having reached this critical point without mishap". <sup>25</sup>

Again: "It conducts us to a second saddle with a stone cairn and prayer-streamers; from a pole in the middle, strings radiate out to the four cardinal

<sup>24</sup> Crooke's *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 105.

<sup>25</sup> *Trans-Himalaya*. (Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet). By Sven Hedin. In Two Volumes. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1909. Vol. I. Page 66.

points, bearing rags and ribands, and fastened to the ground by small stones".<sup>26</sup>

Again: "The ascent to the pass La-rock is short and easy, and before we were aware we were up at a great cairn amid smaller heaps of stones, where the *tarpoche* (votive pole) stands grey and cracked, and much worn by wind and weather".<sup>27</sup>

Again: "At the top of the pass stands a huge cairn with strings and streamers, their prayers rising to the dwellings of the gods on the wings of the wind".<sup>28</sup>

Again; "Small conical cairns are everywhere. *Tsering* never omits to take up a stone from the margin of the road and lay it as his contribution on every such votive pile, and thereby he does a good deed, for he makes the way less rough for those who come after him".<sup>29</sup>

Again: "At a projecting rock, cairns and streamer-poles are set up; the wall of rock is black, but all the side facing the road is painted red.—Ah, this is blood on Balder's sacrificial stone".<sup>30</sup>

In another place Dr. Sven Hedin came across some votive offerings of pyramids of clay which had been presented by certain Buddhist pilgrims, as will appear from the following extract from his aforementioned work:—

"Up on the slab of rock stood three tall cairns and a small cubical *chato* containing votive pyramids of clay".<sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 264.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. p. 280.

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 34.

<sup>29</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., pp. 192.—193.

<sup>30</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 72.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., p. 212.

Then again, Captain H. H. P. Deasy describes the stone-offerings of the Buddhists as follows:—  
 “On the north side of Yeshil Kul, Lens noticed numerous *pillars of stone* and of horns of yak, antelope, and sheep built up with mud, all close together, also several circles about a couple of miles in diameter, formed by ditches about one foot deep and four broad, not far from the pillars. The Ladakis said that the Chungpas or natives of the Chang, built them as places of worship”.<sup>32</sup>

Then I pass on to discuss the point (4) mentioned above, namely, the myth of a tree growing up from a saint's teeth-cleansing tree-twig.

This myth refers to the practice, which is widely prevalent throughout Northern India, of the people's cleaning their teeth in the morning by rubbing the same with the end of a piece of a tree-twig, which end has been chewed by them into the likeness of a rough brush. But this healthy practice is not in vogue among the Bengalis.

Now, the myth of the Makdum Tree having sprouted from Makdum Pir's teeth-cleansing tree-twig has a close parallel in the *chilbil* tree which, like many other sacred trees of India, had grown up from a saint's 'tooth-twig,' and with which the fate of the kingdom of the Rajas of Gonda was intimately connected. The kingdom would last till the day when a monkey would sit on that tree.<sup>33</sup>

Similarly, in folk-tales, the hero's musical instrument, when placed upon the earth, sprouts and

<sup>32</sup> Deasy's *In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan*, p. 24.

<sup>33</sup> C. S. Burne's *Handbook of Folk-lore*, page 37.

grows up into a tree. In the Khasi legend of U. Rattung, the Khasi Orpheus, it is stated that, before leaping into the blazing pyre, he placed his *sharati* or flute point downwards on the earth. This musical instrument took root, and from it there grew up a clump of bamboos which are distinguishable from all other bamboos by having branches forking downwards. <sup>54</sup>

Lastly, I shall take up for consideration the points (5) and (6) together. The fact that a Brāhman is employed to conduct, in a regular way, the worship of the tree-spirit or tree-godling in village Girisa-gangā-sāgara shows that the Musalmani cult of Nekurasani Pir has been adopted by the Hindus and completely absorbed into orthodox Brāhmanism. In this case, the tree-godling or *genius loci* has attained to the status of a full-fledged deity. Therefore Miss C. S. Burne's statement that local godlings scarcely attain to divine rank does not hold good in this case. Whereas the employment of a non-Brāhman to officiate at the worship of the tree-spirit resident in the Makdum Tree proves, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the Musalmani cult of Makdum Pir, though it has been adopted by the Hindus of that locality from their Mahomedan brethren, has not yet been fully assimilated into orthodox Brāhmanism.

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<sup>54</sup> *Folk-Tales of the Khasis.* By Mrs. Raf. London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd, 1920. Page 36. Also, Sir Charles Lyall's *The Khasis*, (MacMillan & Co., 1911), p. 189.

## II. OMENS THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

By RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B. A.

Tulsidas, the celebrated author of the Hindi Rāmāyana, who died 300 years ago, has casually mentioned some ethnological data in his great book, which has become the Bible of 9 crores of people in this country. I will here refer to certain omens which he has described as having been seen before some important events in the life of Rāma. Of course these must be the omens which were believed in when Tulsidas himself was living. Several of them still continue to be regarded by the Hindus as presaging good or evil, as they did 300 years ago.

When the marriage procession of Rāma set out from Ayodhyā, the following good omens were noticed. The blue-jay (*nīlkanṭha*) was seen feeding on the left. The crows were sitting in the fields on the right. The mongoose made its appearance. Women with pots of water and children were seen coming in front. The fox was seen passing several times. The cow was milking its calf. A herd of deer passed from the right. The Kshemkari bird was heard twittering auspicious news. The black-bird was seen sitting on a tree on the left. Some men came from the front carrying curds and fish, also two Brāhmins with books in their hands. All these omens occurred almost simultaneously, as if to establish their own truth, remarks the great poet. When Rāma was on his way back to Ayodhyā, the right eye and arm

of Bharat began to throb. Sitā's left eye and arm throbbed just before the fight between Rāma and Rāvana commenced, indicating good news for her.

The bad omens mentioned are the falling down of the crown from Rāvana's head, the slipping down of warriors from their chariots, the accidental fall of weapons from their hands, the shrieks of horses, elephants, jackals, vultures, owls, donkeys, and dogs, the appearance of meteors, the occurrence of a solar eclipse on a day other than Amāvasyā, earthquake, storm and rain of blood, hair or dust. Of course these were very unusual and terrible omens auguring a tremendous catastrophe, which was the fall of Rāvana.

It will be seen that omens change their significance according to the sex of the person affected. The same omen which is auspicious for a male is inauspicious for a female, for instance, in the case of the throbbings of the eye and arm as noticed before. They also change according to the good or evil vocations of the persons concerned. What forebodes good for a gentleman spells evil for a thief. The shrieks of owls and donkeys were considered to be exceedingly good omens by the Thugs. The latter considered Telis, Dhobis, Lohārs, Barhais, Bhāts, Sikhs, Nānak-shāhis, Madaris, Fakirs, Bhangis, dancers, singers, lame persons and lepers as very pure and auspicious, but the ordinary people regard most of them as very inauspicious. I think it would be interesting to collect examples of omens which have opposite effects when applied to different classes of people.

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### III. REFORM MOVEMENT AMONG THE BHILS.

By A. V. THAKKAR (*Servants of India Society.*)

The Bhils of Panch Mahals are not behind their Kaliparaj brethren of Surat District and of the Navsari Prant of Baroda in the matter of social reform. Just before the Holi holidays they met in Jhalod Taluka in a village two miles off the Taluka town of Jhalod in large numbers, over fifty villages being represented by their leaders and Patels, and made rules regarding standardising their marriage customs and expenses, abstaining from liquor even on festive occasions and from slaughter of cattle, taking a daily bath, abjuring inconvenient leg ornaments of their women, and other matters. The movement is spontaneous and no outside agency has gone to their assistance in the matter of the reform they are now attempting on a large scale. Liquor is their great enemy and the influence of Guru Govind in their midst up to about five years ago brought the gospel of abstinence from drink and other reforms to all his Bhil disciples who number hundreds even to-day. Large masses of the community are now following the example of these "Bhaktas" and resolve to improve themselves in matters of personal cleanliness, in their marriage and death customs and in the matter of food and drink. Like the *Kaliparajs* of South Gujarat no god or goddesses are at the back of the Bhil movement on this side but some educated men and

influential patels from among the community itself are moving their own people for solid social reform.

Following are the main resolutions they passed at the Jhalod gathering consisting of about one thousand men on the 27th February last in the open air under huge Banyan trees in the heat of the day.

(1) The bride's father shall not receive more than Rs. 101/- from the bridegroom's father, out of which Rs. 50/- will be utilised in making ornaments for the bride. The penalty in case of breach will be twice the excess amount paid.

(2) At the time of the betrothal, "gool" (molasses) should be distributed instead of liquor as at present.

(3) The custom of elopement of girls should no longer be recognised as marriage, and those who assist the parties will also be penalised by the Caste *Panch*.

(4) The man who keeps as wife a woman who is married to another but not divorced with the sanction of the Caste *Panch* will be fined up to Rs. 200/- and the woman at fault will be returned to her first husband.

(5) Divorce on the application of a woman may be granted if the *Panch* sees valid reasons for the separation, and, in that case, the second husband, if any, will pay the first husband the sum of Rs. 101/- and some other expenses.

(6) The period of the *ghar-jamai's* or resident son-in-law's compulsory stay with his father-in-law is reduced from 7 years to 5.

(7) Use of liquor on occasions of death-dinner, marriage and other social functions is prohibited.

The Patel or the Bhagat of every village is to report to the head quarters breaches, if any, that may occur.

(8) No cattle or goats should be killed in any death-ceremony or in case of sickness or any other occasion

(9) Water should be used after answering nature's call and a daily bath is prescribed for all adults—male and female.

(10) Women shall remove from their legs brass ornaments called "jhanjharia" (जंझरिया). [These are tapering pieces of brass cylinders worn from the knee down to the ankle and cause great discomfort to the wearers while at work in the fields.]

(11) A committee of leading Patels was appointed to go round the villages, acquaint all the people with the rules made by the representative *Panch* and appoint local committees to watch the working of these rules and to deal with the defaulters.

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#### IV. A PAHIRA FOLKTALE ABOUT THE CREATION OF MAN.

BY THE EDITOR.

The small tribe of Pahirās living on the slopes of the Dolma Hill in Chota Nagpur relate the following legend about the creation of the present race of man.

At first, so runs the Pahirā llegend, Thakurain or Panuari ( the Mother-Goddess ) had been creating only dwarfish men or manikins. But the Goddess at length grew tired of them and declared they were of no use to her. So she thought within Herself, "Now, I shall create men and women so that they may offer me oblations and sacrifices". The old race of dwarfs were thereupon turned into stones. ( Curiously enough the Pahirā points to the remains of numerous ancient Jain and Buddhist sculptures at Dulmi, Chhati Pokhar and other places in the Manbhum District as being the petrified remains of this old race of pygmies ). Thakurain now created a *Burhā* and a *Burhī* the first ancestor and ancestress of the present race of men. She directed the *Burhā-Burhī* to separate all the animals in pairs. So the male dog, the male horse, the male bear, and the males of other animals had each a mate provided for it, but not so the tiger, for the *Burhā-Burhī* were afraid that if the race of tiger multiplied, their own safety and that of their progeny might be in danger. The tiger, however, came to them one morning and complained, "You have given a wife to every other

animal, but none to me. When shall I have mine?" The *Burhā* began to tremble with fear, but the *Burhī* asked him to take heart, and told the tiger, "Bring us a *Sambar* deer and we shall find a wife for you". The very same afternoon the tiger returned with a large *Sambar* deer. The *Burhā* again began to quake with fear. But the *Burhī* confidently told the tiger to come two days later so that in the meanwhile they might make arrangements to get him a bride. The tiger having departed, the *Burhī* told the *Burhā* that he need not worry himself over it as she would see to it all right. The *Burhī* cooked the meat, and both had a hearty dinner of it. The next day at the *Burhī's* request the *Burhā* procured a gunny bag from some trader (*mahājan*).

On the appointed day, the tiger came and asked if arrangements had been made to get him a mate. "Yes, uncle-in-law (*māmā-sasur*), said the *Burhī*, enter this sack, and you will meet your bride". As soon as the expectant tiger entered the gunny bag, the *Burhī* firmly secured its mouth with a strong cord, and threw the sack with the tiger in it into the *Subarnarekhā* river which was then in flood. The sack, so the legend goes, floated down to the outskirts of a jungle where a female tiger was looking out for her prey. On catching sight of the sack she eagerly seized it and tore it open, and out came the tiger. And both tiger and tigress were highly delighted at the meeting.

After a few days they sought out the *Burhā-Burhī*. And the *Burhā* again began to shake with fear, but the *Burhī* took courage to ask, "Well,

*Māmā-Sasur*, have you found your mate?" "Yes", replied the tiger, "here is my bride, and a very good one too. And we have come to express our deep gratitude to you". The *Burbā-Burbī* thereupon blessed the pair, and requested them that they and their progeny might, in future, abstain from killing human beings. The tiger and tigress promised that that they and their descendants would not covet the flesh of any human being except those who have already been 'eaten' by witches (*dains*) or spirits (*bhuts*).

The *Pahirā* who narrated this legend to me concluded by assuring me, "This is why tigers never harm our people, though we *Pahirās* constantly move among tigers in our hills and jungles. The persons reported by the ignorant as having been killed by tigers are in reality killed either by witches or by spirits".

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## ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. A Pahirā will not eat from plates made of the leaves of the creeper called *Bandu-latā*. The reason assigned by him for this taboo is that the *Bandu* creeper with a few leaves sticking to it is used in fastening the poles of a funeral pyre, and thus while the corpse is cremated the spirit takes shelter in these leaves. As all *Bandu* leaves are liable to be haunted by spirits of the dead, they are thus tabued by the Pahirā.

*The Editor.*

2. The first fish caught by a Pahirā in any large stream or pool of water must be offered to the water-spirit called *Sham-lāgi*, by cutting off the tail of the fish and putting the fish back into the water. While doing so, the Pahirā addresses the spirit saying, "Here I give thee thino, permit me now to take home any other fish that I may catch".

*The Editor.*

3. Similarly, any animal or bird which the Pahirā secures by hunting is first ceremonially offered to the spirit of the woods known as the *Badri* which is represented by a block of stone in the village. This *Badri* stone is touched with the head of the animal or bird and a bit of a sweet (always kept for the purpose in a bamboo-tube) is offered to the spirit. The head of the game is then boiled by the men by the side of the *Badri* stone, and the sacrificial meat of the head is then and there eaten by the men. The meat of the head of any game is tabu to women.

*The Editor.*

4. A Pahirā who may happen to be the fortunate owner of a cow or of a she-goat must not allow even the new calf or kid to suck its mother's milk unless and until the first milk has been offered to the cattle spirit call *Gorea*. *The Editor.*

5. Even a Pahirā child is not allowed to eat the new maize of the year before the first fruits have been ceremonially offered by the head of the family to the Dolma Pāt or the spirit of the Dolma Hill on the slopes of which the Pahirā dwells and has his tiny maize plantations. *The Editor.*

6. The Pahirā's method of offering the first fruits of the maize is peculiar and interesting. The maize is not offered directly to the Hill spirit. But a chicken is brought out by the head of the house, anointed with vermilion on the forehead, fed on a few grains of the new maize corn, and then this chicken is sacrificed to *Dolma Pat*. *The Editor.*

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## INDIAN ETHNOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In the October and November (1922) numbers of MAN, Mr. H. A. Rose contributes a note on 'Legitimation and Adoption in Hindu Law'. He suggests that in primitive law legitimisation of an incompletely legitimate son as heir precedes adoption, and, by degrees this concession might develop into "adoption" in its widest sense'. It is pointed out that Prof. Jolly's rendering of *niyoga* by *Leviratsche* is unfortunate as 'no Hindu law-giver ever contemplated the affiliation of such a son to her husband'. *Niyoga* differs from leviration fundamentally in 'affiliating the son (and Manu says a second son would be illegitimate: IX., 143) to the first husband'. "Leviration, in its strict sense, as connoting the surrender of the first-born or only son of the remarried widow to the deceased husband, is entirely foreign to modern Indian custom at least in the Punjab". Only once, in 29 year's service in India (mostly the Punjab) did Mr. Rose come across an apparent case of it. After discussing the definitions and significance of the various kinds of "sons" recognised in Manu's Code, Mr. Rose concludes that although the evolution of the law of adoption in India cannot yet be definitely traced, it may have been something like this:— "In primitive communities, Aryan or non-Aryan, failure of legitimate sons is repaired by practices like the *niyoga*, or the affiliation of sons, like the *kanina* or the *sahodha*. Then come the reformers who try to raise marriage to a higher

level, and introduce adoption as a less degrading method of allowing a sonless man to obtain an heir than polygyny, especially second marriages with women of strange castes, or with women already possessed of sons. But adoption in its turn calls for regulation, and so we find *Manu* doing that on a remarkably rational basis. But the force of immemorial usage is strong, and so the later jurists have to let in affiliated and adopted sons without the restrictions of any clearly discernible principles whatsoever. In the Punjab, which has not been under Brahmanical influences for centuries, we find the primitive ideas still at work, and the orthodox doctrines of adoption almost forgotten or ignored."

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In the December (1922) number of *MAN*, Mr. J. H. Hutton, c. i. E., describes an interesting form of snare for catching birds and animals in use among the Konyak Naga tribes in the north of the Naga Hills. The principle on which the snare is constructed is that of "a pair of scissors with one blade fixed and the other depressed on to it, on release by a bamboo spring."

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In the October—December (1922) of *FOLK-LORE*, Mr. J. H. Hutton c. i. E., has contributed seven folk-tales collected by Mr. C. R. Pawsey, i. c. s., from the Angami Nāgās of *Assam*.

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The October (1922) number of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* (Bangalore) publishes the first portion of an interesting paper by Mr. C. Havavadana Rao on 'Mysore Castes and Tribes:—A General Survey'. What the author aims at is "not so much a study of each individual caste as a study of the general rites and customs and habits of the main castes of the state with a view to drawing certain general conclusions therefrom".

The same number of the *Journal of the Mythic Society* contains an article by Mr. T. A. Seshagiri Aiyar, B. A., B. L., M. L. A., on "Varieties of Brāhmanism" in which the status of Brāhmans in the different provinces of India is summarily reviewed. It is shown that the orthodoxy and status of the Brāhmans is the lowest in Kashmir, hardly better in the Punjab, slightly higher in Bihar and the United Provinces and still a step higher in Bengal. In Bombay, 'owing to the commercial instinct of the people of the Presidency' the Brāhman holds no commanding position, although the position of the Brāhman is more enviable in the Mahārāshtra portion of it. The status of the Brāhman in the Kathewar States is better, and their religion "a little more ceremonial than that of the United Provinces or of Behar". The Telugu and Tamil Brāhmans of Southern India are more orthodox. But the Nambudiris of Malabar form the most orthodox and intolerant class of Brāhmans in India. This arrogant assumption of superiority over other castes and communities may, he says, be explained either on the assumption of a mixed origin of the South Indian Brāhman, and attributed to "the proverbial anxiety of the hybrid

to be regarded as of pure blood", or on the assumption that the purer type of Brāhmanism was preserved in the Madras Presidency because in the south the Brāhman had not to undergo "frequent submission to rulers of different faiths and different civilizations", and the faith of the earlier settlers of the south of India was not "antagonistic to the Vedic religion".

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

**The Evolution of Climate.** By C. E. P. Brooks, M. Sc., F. R. A. I., F. R. Met. Soc., with a Preface By G. C. Simpson, D. Sc., F. R. S., *London* : Benn Brothers, Limited, 1922, (Pp. 173. Price 8s 6d. net.)

In this book an attempt has been made to reconstruct the history of climatic changes through which the world passed in the Quaternary period mainly from the standpoint of a meteorologist, and herein lies the special interest of the book.

In chapter I of the book, the author has not only critically dealt with in small compass the various theories concerning the fluctuations of climate on a geological scale (viz., those of Croll, Spitaler, Humphreys, Sinroth, Wegener) but has put forward a theory of his own, in which he gives a prominent place among the factors of climatic changes in the geological ages to the effect of land and sea distribution in the various ages and of elevation of land surfaces and of glacial anticyclones—facts which were never so fully considered before,—as playing a principal part in giving rise to glacial and interglacial periods.

In presenting the history of the climate of the Ice Age, the author gives the reader a glimpse into the climatic record of the previous ages in chapters II and III. In his excellent summing up at the close of chapter II, he gives his explanation of the fact of alternation of warm and cold climates in the different geological ages. He has dispassionately discussed Wegener's theory of the wanderings of

the poles and continents, accounting for wide-spread glaciation in the Pre-Cambrian and Permo-carboniferous times in low latitudes, and the author's modified and alternative hypothesis is well worth the serious consideration of the scientific world.

Mr. Brooks has discussed the subdivisions of the glacial period in the Quaternary epoch in chapter IV. He states the views of both the polyglacialists and the monoglacialists. He apparently dissents from the views of Penck and Bruckner of a fourfold glaciation and holds to the view of a mainly double glaciation in the Ice Age. He writes at page 52, "In the Alps and other mountain ranges on the borders of the great northern ice-sheets, which respond very readily to small changes, it was fourfold. In the peripheral regions of the northern ice-sheets, which respond very readily to small changes, it was fourfold. In the peripheral regions of the northern ice-sheets themselves it has an appearance of being threefold or fourfold. In the more central regions of these great ice-sheets, where response to climatic change is very slow, there is no evidence of more than two glaciations; but in these regions, where the destructive effect of the ice reached its maximum, it is only by the merest chance that evidence of interglacial periods is preserved at all. And finally, in all other parts of the world we have evidence of only two glaciations at most". Thus, according to our author, there was only one truly interglacial period, viz, the Mindel-Riss. The apparent Riss-Würm interglacial, according to him, so far as Scandinavia was concerned, might have been due merely to "an extensive and prolonged oscillation of the ice-edge".

With regard to the relations of the different palaeolithic cultures to the different glacial phases, our author is inclined to place the Chellean and Acheulian cultures in the Mindel-Riss and the Mousterian in the Riss-Würm. In this he agrees with Penck but differs from the prevailing views of other experts. In support of his view, Mr. Brooke refers to the discovery 'in the pre-Rissian loess of an implement of Acheulian age' in 1910 at Achenheim (Alsace) by R. R. Schmidt and P. Werner, "indicating that the deposit was formed towards the close of the Chellean industry".

In the succeeding chapters, the author gives an account of the glacial history of the world as a whole and, following his own theory, he attempts to prove that there were, generally speaking, two glaciations in the Ice age, all over the world.

In the concluding chapters the author briefly discusses the influence of climatic fluctuations on the evolution of man and of the shifting of the centres of civilisation and progress in the history of mankind. The book ends with an appendix in which the author describes the method by which to calculate the probable temperature of any latitude in accordance with the theory he has propounded.

Whether the author's main hypothesis, supported as it is by an array of ascertained facts and close reasoning, be finally accepted as the last word on the subject or not, there can be no question that the book is a very suggestive and stimulating one. As a valuable and remarkable contribution towards the solution of Ice Age problems, the book will fill a high place in the literature on the subject.

The get-up of the book is excellent. A few maps would, however, add to the usefulness of the book for the student. As containing much valuable information regarding man's environment at different geological epochs, the book will be highly appreciated by all anthropological students.

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**The Primitive Culture of India.** By Col. T. C. Hodson, pp. 133. Published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, (1922).

The book before us forms the first volume of the publications of the James Furlong Trust Fund and comprises a course of five lectures delivered by the author at the School of Oriental Studies in the University of London. The authorities of the School are to be congratulated on their selection of Col. Hodson for the Lecturership on Indian Ethnology. As a former member of the Indian Civil Service, Col. Hodson spent some years among the hill tribes of Assam studying at first hand their manners and customs and some of their languages, and published two excellent monographs, one on *The Meithies* and the other on *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*; and since his retirement from India he has remained a devoted student of anthropological science and particularly of Indian Ethnology and an active member of the Royal Anthropological Institute (of which he was for some years the Honorary Secretary), and has contributed a number of highly interesting papers bearing on Indian Ethnology in



European and Indian scientific journals. Our author is thus well qualified to speak with authority on *The Primitive Culture of India*. And the volume before us maintains and advances the reputation which our author has already acquired as a keen, thoughtful and discriminating student of Indian Ethnology.

The author begins by emphasising the fact, not unoften forgotten by a certain class of foreign writers, that 'primitive' characters are not to be looked for in Indian cultures. But although the existing cultures of the aboriginal, semi-aboriginal, and 'depressed' classes of India are not indeed 'primitive' in the sense of representing 'simple and uncontaminated stages of social development', yet, as our author points out, the primitive character of the mentality of most of these communities cannot be doubted and may be safely taken as 'guides to the history' (though not perhaps the order) of social development. In the first Lecture, after referring to the complexity of the 'primitive' culture of India, Col. Hodson proceeds to analyse the fundamental elements of that culture. In looking for the mental make-up of folk in the lower culture, our author finds 'their attitude characterised by the dominance of tradition', and associates their lack of rational explanations of institutions and customs with the value they assign to dream experiences, hyper-aesthetic apparitions and the like 'which seem to spring from the liberation of the unconscious elements of mind from the controls imposed by education and normal life'.

According to our author, the social idea or belief "which, as the core of all social beliefs in action, can be regarded as capable of explaining how tradition has assumed the dominance assigned to it", is "the belief in re-incarnation, the belief that society is composed of constantly recurring units so that the activities of these units, their relations one with another, their social duties and liabilities, are always regulated by reference to the tradition of the activities, the relations, the duties and liabilities of those deceased members of the social group who are regarded as having returned to the group in their persons". This idea of re-incarnation, Col. Hodson tells us, "affects all expressions, simple and complex, of social activity and inspires and explains social structure".

In accordance with this theory, Col. Hodson sees in the wedding ceremonies of the lower culture, rites to ensure...the succession of reincarnated souls, as the purpose of the name-giving rites (at birth) is to ascertain which of the deceased ancestors has indeed returned", and in the ritual dances of the lower culture, at funerals, during agricultural operations, war and the chase our author not only sees mimetic rehearsals of events with the object of causing them to occur, but he goes further and asserts that "they dance their dances not as representatives but as the living reincarnated personalities of those who fought and won those battles, who thus made crops to flourish, who in this manner and by these preparations became mighty in the chase, whose distinction and eminence

in the arts which are so important to society are thus achieved and signalised".

Although it is doubtful whether all anthropological experts will be prepared to go to this length with our author and accept the reincarnate nation idea alone as the "key to the whole complex of social structure, social beliefs and social customs of the lower culture, the theory and the arguments advanced in support of it are no doubt very suggestive and thought-provoking. Students of lower culture will of course find themselves in general agreement with our author that "the lower culture is what it is by reason of its psychology, of its strong faith in the value of dreams and abnormal impressions, its traditional attitude and therefore its timidity towards the new and unfamiliar".

Whether its readers agree with the author of the book in regarding the belief in reincarnation as the central idea of the social beliefs and institutions of the lower culture, all readers of the *Lectures* will agree that the author gives us a very vivid, comprehensive and analytic sketch of the economic life of the lower culture in India, their linguistics, their training of the young, their legends and myths, folklore, poetry and dances, social structure—sex-divisions, kinship and social grouping,—life-history of the individual in society, socio-religious rites and religious beliefs, and discusses with consummate ability what they may teach us regarding the mental development of human society. We strongly recommend the book to every student of primitive culture, and particularly of primitive Indian culture.

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# BOOKS FOR SALE

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## 1. The Mundas and Their Country

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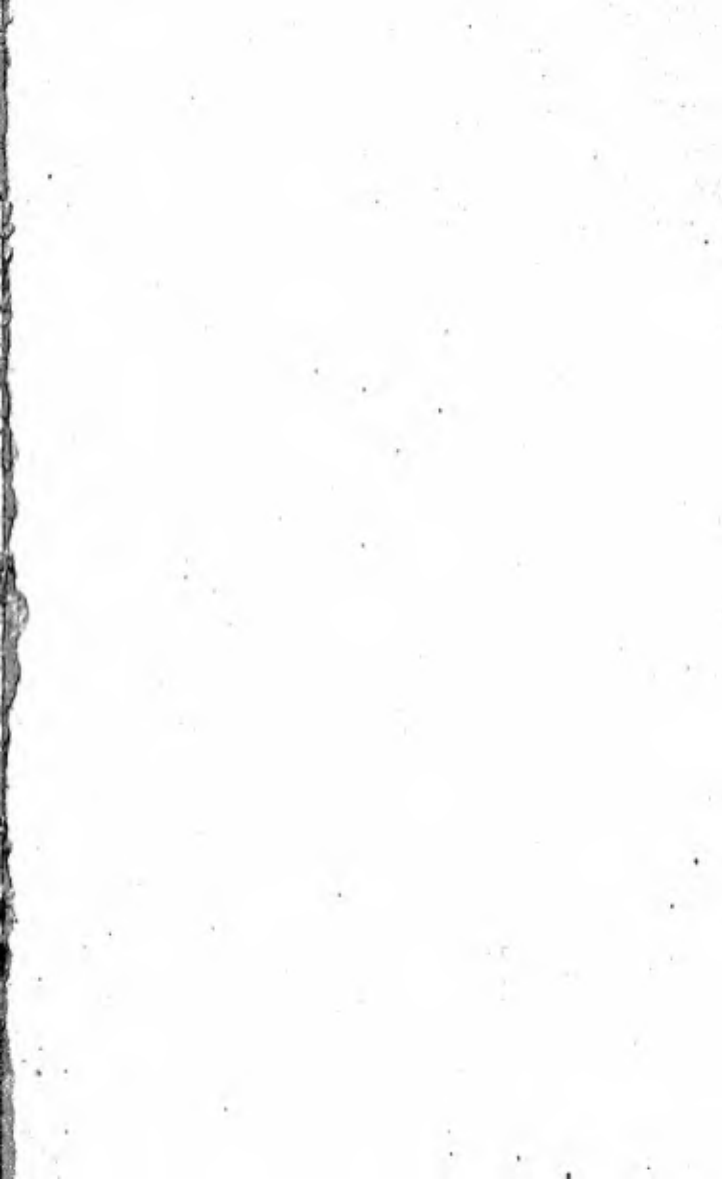
*The Times* (London, January 6, 1916):—...Sarat Chandra Roy has given us much valuable information in this book, and we hope that his fine example will be followed by some of his fellow countrymen.

Sir James Frazer, D. C. L., L. L. D., Litt. D., F. R. S., F. R. S. E.:—

The book is full of very valuable and interesting information. I cordially congratulate you on your success in collecting so much anthropological information concerning the tribe, and on the admirable lucidity and terseness with which you set forth the facts carefully distinguishing them from inferences which you have drawn from them. The inferences seem to me for the most part just and probable.

Your work on the Oraons promises to rank with the very best monographs on Indian tribes.

*The Hindustan Review* (Allahabad, July, 1915):—Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A. (Ranchi, Behar) published in 1912, the *Mundas and their Country*, which was noticed by us in the issue of the *Hindustan Review* for July of that year, in terms of the highest commendation. He has not rested upon his laurels but has just brought out an equally interesting work called the *Oraons of Chota Nagpur*. Like its predecessor, the work under notice is of the highest value to not only the anthropologist and the ethnologist but the administrator and the social reformer. It is an encyclopedic survey of the history, the economic conditions and the social organization of this numerous and interesting aboriginal tribe, which occupies, along with the Mundas, the Hos and others, the greater part of the Chota Nagpur plateau of Behar. The anthropological value of the book is testified to by Mr. A. C. Haddon in the introduction which he has contributed. Apart, however, from its great scientific value, the book should appeal to the general reader as well. Mr. Roy wields a facile pen, is a master of his subject and knows how to make it attractive both to scholars and laymen. By his works on the Mundas and the Oraons Mr. Roy has raised higher the standard of Indian culture and scholarship. We look forward with interest to other equally valuable contributions from his pen.



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